The children, at least the boys, played about and did as 105
they pleased. Not so with the girls. Their duties began 512
at a very early age. They carried wood and water for their 857
mothers, sewed moccasins, and as soon as they were strong 562
enough, were taught to tan robes and furs, make lodges,
travois, and do all other woman's — and so menial — work. 868
The boys played at mimic warfare, hunted around in the [462]
brush with their bows and arrows, made mud images of
animals, and in summer spent about half their time in the
water. In winter, they spun tops on the ice, slid down hill
on a contrivance made of buffalo ribs, and hunted rabbits.

Shortly after noon, the hunters began to return, bringing 105
in deer, antelope, buffalo, elk, occasionally bear, and, some- 512
times, beaver which they had trapped. The camp began to [224]
be more lively. In all directions persons could be heard
shouting out invitations to feasts. Here a man was lying
back on his couch singing and drumming; there a group of
young men were holding a war dance; everywhere the
people were eating, singing, talking, and joking. As the
light faded from the western sky and darkness spread over
the camp, the noise and laughter increased. In many [535]
lodges, the people held social dances, the women, dressed in [533]
their best gowns, ranged on one side, the men on the other;
all sung, and three or four drummers furnished an accompaniment; the music was lively if somewhat jerky. At intervals the people rose and danced, the "step" being a bending of the knees and swinging of the body, the women holding their arms and hands in various graceful positions.

With the night came the rehearsal of the wondrous doings 105
of the gods. These tales may not be told in the daytime. 512
Old Man would not like that, and would cause any one who 537
narrated them while it was light to become blind. All 538
Indians are natural orators, but some far exceed others in [784]
their powers of expression. Their attitudes, gestures, and signs are so suggestive that they alone would enable one to

105 understand the stories they relate. I have seen these story-
512 tellers so much in earnest, so entirely carried away by the
537 tale they were relating, that they fairly trembled with ex-
538 citement. They held their little audiences spell-bound.
The women dropped their half-sewn moccasin from their listless hands, and the men let the pipe go out. These stories for the most part were about the ancient gods and their miraculous doings. They were generally related by the old men, warriors who had seen their best days. Many of them are recorded in this book. They are the explanations of the phenomena of life, and contain many a moral for the instruction of youth.

● 535 The *I-kün-üh'-kah-tsi* contributed not a little to the enter-
575 tainment of every-day life. Frequent dances were held by
the different bands of the society, and the whole camp always turned out to see them. The animal-head masks, brightly painted bodies, and queer performances were dear to the Indian heart.

484 Such was the every-day life of the Blackfeet in the buffalo
492 days. When the camp moved, the women packed up their
possessions, tore down the lodges, and loaded everything on the backs of the ponies or on the travois. Meantime the chiefs had started on, and the soldiers — the Brave band of the *I-kun-uh'-kah-tsi* — followed after them. After these leaders had gone a short distance, a halt was made to allow the column to close up. The women, children, horses, and dogs of the camp marched in a disorderly, straggling fashion, often strung out in a line a mile or two long. Many of the men rode at a considerable distance ahead, and on each side of the marching column, hunting for any game that might be found, or looking over the country for signs of enemies.

484 Before the Blackfeet obtained horses in the very first
175 years of the present century, and when their only beasts of
burden were dogs, their possessions were transported by
492 these animals or on men's backs. We may imagine that in
482 those days the journeys made were short ones. the camp
travelling but a few miles.

bed, clearing away the underbrush, weeds and grass and leaves and sticks, raking the ground till the earth is thoroughly pulverized. Elk, deer, and mountain sheep droppings are collected, pounded fine, and mixed with the seed which is to be sown. 249

On the appointed day all the men gather at the bed. Each one holds in his hand a short, sharp-pointed stick, with which to make a hole in the ground. The men stand in a row extending across the bed. At a signal they make the holes in the ground, and drop in some seed, with some sacred sarvis berries. The tobacco song is sung by the medicine men, all take a short step forward, make another hole, a foot in front of the last, and then drop in it some more seed. Another song is sung, another step taken, and seed is again planted; and this continues until the line of men has moved all the way across the bed, and the planting is completed. The tobacco dance follows the planting. 249 796 [533] [535] ●

After the seed has been planted, they leave it and go off after the buffalo. While away during the summer, some important man — one of the medicine men who had taken part in the planting — announces to the people his purpose to go back to look after the crop. He starts, and after he has reached the place, he builds a little fire in the bed, and offers a prayer for the crop, asking that it may survive and do well. Then he pulls up one of the plants, which he takes back with him and shows to the people, so that all may see how the crop is growing. He may thus visit the place three or four times in the course of the summer. [782]

From time to time, while they are absent from the tobacco patch in summer, moving about after the buffalo, the men gather in some lodge to perform a special ceremony for the protection of the crop. Each man holds in his hand a little stick. They sing and pray to the Sun and Old Man, asking that the grasshoppers and other insects may not eat their plants. At the end of each song they strike the ground with [782]

796 medicine man held it aloft and said: 'Listen, Sun! Listen,
756 Thunder! Listen, Old Man! All Above Animals, all
782 Above People, listen. Pity us! You will smoke. We fill
the sacred pipe. Let us not starve. Give us rain during this summer. Make the berries large and sweet. Cover the bushes with them. Look down on us all and pity us. Look at the women and the little children; look at us all. Let us reach old age. Let our lives be complete. Let us destroy our enemies. Help the young men in battle. Man, woman, child, we all pray to you; pity us and give us good. Let us survive.'

●[535] "He then danced the pipe dance, to be described further on. At this time, another storm had come up, and the thunder crashed directly over our heads.

"'Listen,' said the medicine man. 'It hears us. We are not doing this uselessly'; and he raised his face, animated with enthusiasm, toward the sky, his whole body trembling with excitement; and, holding the pipe aloft, repeated his prayer. All the rest of the people were excited, and repeatedly clasped their arms over their breasts, saying: 'Pity us; good give us; good give us. Let us survive.'

796 "After this, the pipe was handed to a man on the right of
782 the semi-circle. Another warrior took a lighted brand from
the fire, and counted four *coups*, at the end of each *coup* touching the pipe bowl with the brand. When he had counted the fourth *coup*, the pipe was lighted. It was then smoked in turn around the circle, each one, as he received it, repeating a short prayer before he put the stem to his lips. When it was smoked out, a hole was dug in the ground, the ashes were knocked into it and carefully covered over, and the thunder ceremony was ended."

796 In the year 1885, I was present at the unwrapping of the
782 medicine pipe by Red Eagle, an aged *Ni-namp'-skan*, since
dead. On this occasion prayers were made for the success
756 of a party of Piegans who had started in pursuit of some

'Listen, Sun, pity us! Listen, Old Man, pity us! Above 756
People, pity us! Under Water People, pity us! Listen, 755
Sun! Listen, Sun! Let us survive, pity us! Let us sur- [782]
vive. Look down on our sick daughter this day. Pity her
and give her a complete life.' At the conclusion of this
short prayer, all the people uttered a loud *m-m-m-h*, signify-
ing that they took the words to their hearts. Every one now [533]
commenced the pipe song, and the medicine woman passed
the stem over different parts of the sick woman's body, after
which she rose and left the lodge.

"The medicine man now took a common pipe which had [782]
been lighted, and blew four whiffs of smoke toward the sky,
four toward the ground, and four on the medicine pipe
stem, and prayed to the Sun, Old Man, and all medicine
animals, to pity the people and give them long life. The [533]
drums were then produced, the war song commenced, and
the old man, with a rattle in each hand, danced four times [535]
to the door-way and back. He stooped slightly, kept all his
limbs very rigid, extending his arms like one giving a
benediction, and danced in time to the drumming and
singing with quick, sudden steps. This is the medicine pipe
dance, which no one but a pipe-owner is allowed to perform.
Afterward, he picked up the pipe stem, and, holding it
aloft in front of him, went through the same performance.
At the conclusion of the dance, the pipe stem was passed [782]
from one to another of the guests, and each one in turn held
it aloft and repeated a short prayer. The man on my right
prayed for the health of his children, the one on my left for
success in a proposed war expedition. This concluded the
ceremony."

Disease among the Blackfeet is supposed to be caused by 753
evil spirits, usually the spirits or ghosts of enemies slain in 775
battle. These spirits are said to wander about at night, and
whenever opportunity offers, they shoot invisible arrows into
persons. These cause various internal troubles, such as

186 Siksika and the Kainah—who often came to the aid of the Piegan in times of conflict.

621 [602] While kin ties were basic to band formation, friendship and self-interest played a part as well, and people changed bands when they felt it advantageous to do so. Ewers believes that this shifting band allegiance had developed with the inequal distribution of wealth that followed the acquisition of the horse. Poor people became more dependent upon the generosity of the wealthy few and attached themselves to the bands of those men who could best provide for them.

Band membership then was based first of all upon kin ties, but with no absolute rule of descent. Wives usually joined the band of their husbands and children belonged to that of their father, but it was not unusual for a man to join his wife's group. A widow could choose to remain in her husband's band or to return to that of her parents. A man could change band affiliation "even in middle life . . ." (Wissler 1911:19). Other persons attached themselves to the band for various reasons, and long residence with a band, and acceptance by its members, was tantamount to band membership.

619 [621] The tribe was a larger association of individual bands whose members recognized common ties of language, kinship and culture. It was an organized unit only during the few weeks of the summer hunt, and tribal discipline operated only at this time. Even here the bands retained their spatial and functional autonomy; each band had it habitual place in the camp circle and continued to operate as an economic and political unit with only a part of its powers surrendered to the tribal organization.

575 Like other Plains Indians, the Piegan had a series of men's organizations, or societies, of which there were three basic types: age-graded warrior societies, religious societies and cults, and the less formal dance association.

701 561 The named warrior societies (Mosquitoes, Pigeons, Braves, All-Crazy Dogs, etc.) were corporate groups, that is, they continued over time, surviving the individual members. Groups of young men of a similar age sometimes started a new society, or, more usually, got together and bought memberships in an ongoing society. Similarly the old members would in turn buy into the next age-rank. The transfer was between individuals and such purchases could occur at any time. It was customary, however, for several men to transfer at the same time. Periodic transfers of this kind made possible a progressive movement of membership from a lower to a higher ranking society as men grew older. The oldest society might continue as its ranks were renewed from below, or eventually die out as its members passed away.

These were the groups granted policing powers at the summer encampment. In addition they served to promote the military spirit of the members through war games and intersociety competition in races, dancing and games.

794 535 The medicine men's societies and related cults were less formally organized gatherings of men who owned important medicine bundles and powers. These men conferred together to aid in the organization and presentation of the Sun Dance and to promote the spiritual and material welfare of the tribe. The dance organizations were social clubs made up of young men who organized for the purpose of staging social dances during the time of the summer encampment.

541 latter ceremony, the War Mothers and families of veterans who had died in action.

[571] The Air Force ceremony struck several of us as a test of the time sense of two cultures. Two Air Force generals were to be honored by being given a Blackfeet name and honorary membership in the Blackfeet tribe. The ritual called for a speech by an elderly chief at the conclusion of which he would pronounce the name he was giving the general, and place a war bonnet on the head of the newly adopted tribesman. A second chief would then make the bestowal to the other general. Air Force plans called for a jet plane fly-over as the war bonnet was put on the head of the senior officer. Four members of the Honorary Council, the master of ceremonies and an interpreter, dressed in Indian regalia, stood in an informal group at one side awaiting the beginning of the ceremonies, while to the other an Air Force contingent consisting of the two generals, fifteen full colonels and a captain, and a color guard of a sergeant and five enlisted men, were drawn up in formation. There was much synchronizing of watches on the military side, a relaxed unconcerned waiting on the part of the Blackfeet. The jets were evidently airborne somewhere over the horizon; if there was radio communication between the planes and the group on the ground, I did not see it.

The ceremony began. Air Force participation could be and was done according to a planned time sequence, but no one could predict how long one of the chiefs might choose to speak. Yet even as I was figuring the odds on outcome, the old chief concluded his speech and pronounced the name, the interpreter translated it, the war bonnet went up and the jets came over the horizon, over the group on the ground and out of sight in the direction of Great Falls. Someone, I will never know who, had good medicine.

The War Memorial dedication was a concern of local people and brought together an audience of families of veterans and tribal dignitaries. It marked the success of a drive begun many years earlier by the War Mothers (mothers of war veterans) to raise money for such a memorial, so commemorated too their persistence and hard work. A procession of tribal leaders, some in Indian regalia, the American Legion Color Guard, the Boy Scouts, and the War Mothers was followed by speeches from the Gold Star Mothers and the unveiling of the pylon shaped monument upon which was mounted a bronze plaque inscribed with the names of tribal members who had been killed in action in U.S. wars. Later in the day the War Mothers staged a give-away ceremony in memory of these war dead.

Indian-Oriented Social Occasions

571 The social occasions where most of the participants and spectators are
people of Indian orientation include several public, semiprivate and private gatherings. Some are formal occasions while others are informal in their organization.
[527] Formal public occasions include the North American Indian Days celebrations at
[796] Browning, a Sun Dance held in conjunction with one of these, and periodically
[535] scheduled Indian dances. Horse races and stick game gatherings in the outlying
[526] communities are frequent forms of public entertainment organized on a less
[574] formal basis. The private and semiprivate gatherings are those to which attendance
[794]

is invited, tacitly or directly, and some of the formal occasions for such congrega- 571
tion are medicine bundle openings, curing ceremonies, song services, and private
parties. House to house visiting, gatherings of families and friends, the visiting 744
grouping at the formal public activities, in office buildings and stores, and street 574
corner visiting are kinds of informal private interaction.

The Indian Days celebrations are annual affairs sponsored by the reserva- 527
tion community. The tribal council makes an appropriation to underwrite the
celebration, and local businessmen make cash contributions or put up prizes for
competitive events. The four day celebration, held in late June or early July, is a
reenactment of the traditional Blackfeet summer encampment and advertised
widely as a tourist attraction. Families who own tepees are encouraged to pitch
them on the encampment grounds and to camp there with their families. Indians
from other reservations are invited, resulting in a camp circle of fifty or more
tepees formed by local people, visitors from the Canadian Reserves—Blood, North
Piegan, Blackfoot and Cree—and from surrounding United States Indian communities—Warm Springs, Yakima, Umatilla, Crow, Gros Ventre, Cheyenne, Assiniboine, Flathead, and Cree, among others. Sleeping and cooking tents are erected
behind the tepee circle and upwards of seven hundred people live on the grounds
during the encampment. Each family camping on the grounds is paid a cash allowance toward their maintenance and shares in a daily meat or food ration.

The formal program opens with a parade through the main street of 527
Browning and out to the encampment grounds near the Museum of the Plains
Indian, a half mile west of town. A regular program of Indian dancing to the 541
accompaniment of singing and drumming by local and visiting singing groups is [535]
scheduled each afternoon, and continues long into the evening if the weather
permits.

The dancing sessions are interrupted frequently by both planned and un- 527
planned intermission activities—special dance contests, games, and "give-aways."
Some of the last mentioned gift giving ceremonies are sponsored by the Indian 431
Days Committee to honor and give gifts to invited guests from other tribes.
Others are put on by individuals and families who wish—and are expected—to
give gifts in remembrance of a deceased relative, to give a new and significant
Indian name to a child in a public naming ceremony, or to honor some other
person by a display of generosity in his name. The person to be honored and his
family form a procession and pass four times around the dance arena as the singers
drum and sing a favored song. A similar procession is formed for the memorial
give-away, and a close relative carries a photograph of the deceased relative. Increasingly distant relatives join the procession with each turn. Quantities of gifts
are brought in and at the conclusion of the processional, a crier acting for the
family calls out the names of those to be given gifts. Occasionally a tepee with
furnishings is given, sometimes horses, more usually blankets, cigarettes, and cash
make up the gifts.

Another almost regularly occurring part of the program is a ceremony in 527
which distinguished visitors are adopted into the Blackfeet Tribe. These people
are given an Indian name and a war bonnet, or other tokens of their new status, 597
by an honored elder. In 1960, Indian Days coincided with the U.S. Governors

the grounds and can be seen in attendance day after day, (b) a number of people 527 recognized as of white-orientation who make a brief appearance, spend an hour or two watching the proceedings and then leave, (c) a few white-oriented people, 177 who because of special community roles and interests have reason to be in attendance more frequently, and (d) a changing tourist attendance of twenty-five to one hundred persons who spend varying amounts of time enjoying the spectacle. The 527 patterns of attendance and participation appear to be changing. During the past ten years, many older people have died and fewer expert ritualists are left, but 178 younger people are getting involved in the dancing. In 1959, I noted that few teenagers were dancing; the dancers tended to be either over thirty or under twelve years old. In 1970, these youngsters had become teenagers and were still turning out. More children were dancing. All age ranges seemed to be represented. In addition, several children from white-oriented families were seen to be buying costumes and learning to dance.[12]

The most recent Sun Dances were performed in 1959 and 1964 and the 796 ceremony I observed (1959) was held in conjunction with that year's Indian Days. The religious ceremonies were held on the encampment grounds preceding the secular festivities. A "Medicine Lodge" was constructed with appropriate 796 ritual by setting up a circle of ten poles around a center post: rafters were strung between these poles and from each pole to the center post and lashed into place 346 with strips of hide. An opening was left to the east, and the wall and "roof" at the west end were covered with leafy cottonwood branches to make a sun and wind shelter for the ritualists who worked inside. The participants were largely 796 people of Indian-orientation as were most of the spectators. Modern Indian-orientation does not require full knowledge and belief in the old religion. While 177 the key roles were filled by older men who knew the ritual, other people were chosen more because they came close to the model of "good Indian people" than for their knowledge of the ritual. Some others were selected because they were kin of the more traditional participants or were among the social and political leaders from both segments of the community. One woman told me that she had been "captured" and had paid for the privilege of "owning" the knife and the right to cut the hide into strips for the lashings on the Medicine Lodge. This was traditionally a male prerogative, and in this case a male relative acted for her. In 1964 a young man conducted the ritual, thus assuming a role usually reserved for an older man. He had been trained from childhood by his grandfather and other elders, so perhaps was better qualified in this respect than most living elders, but his action appeared to have made some of the older people uneasy. Such changes 796 aside, the ceremonies are solemn, the key participants are involved in rituals that have deep meaning for them; the other participants pay respect to the beliefs expressed, and the families and friends of the people involved watch the proceedings with mixed emotions of interest, understanding, tolerance and respect.

Social dancing at the Indian Days Celebration functions as both entertain- 535 ment for the tourists and recreation for the participants. The dancers do not

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[12] Participation by these young people might introduce some confusion into my orientation schemes, but for reasons I will discuss in the final chapter, I think that their participation does not signal a turn toward Indian-orientation on their part.

535 await an audience but start dancing when they feel like it, often whenever a singing group begins to drum. The entertainment rarely follows the schedule, but starts and stops according to the mood of the individual dancers. Some arrive on time, others an hour or two late. Evening dances are or are not held depending upon the weather and the inclination of the dancers, rather than upon the presence of an audience. In fact many dancers show signs of impatience with the tourist onlookers who often invade the dance circle to take pictures. Tourists appear to be a tolerated nuisance rather than spectators to be entertained. The Indian visitors, who understand the dancing and participate at least vicariously, are the more orderly, appreciative and appreciated audience. The point is that the dancing at the encampment is a social and recreational outlet, and for the people involved it is an experience that plays a very important and meaningful part in their lives. 177 During these days they are "Indians," doing things that symbolized this identity. 186 They stress social positions of importance among "Indians" that may have little relation to the world at large. People have a special competence here that is recognized by their peers.

484 535 People who own dancing costumes leave the reservation frequently during the summer and fall to participate in similar Indian gatherings held throughout the plains area. Indian-oriented families may be gone for most of the summer, and the anthropologist who stays behind knows that he is missing out on events that are an important part of the lives of these people.

535 In the late fall, winter, and early spring a series of social dances, often coinciding with national holidays, are held at the community halls in surrounding neighborhoods. People from other parts of the reservation are invited or are free to attend. Often people came from neighboring reservations as well.

These dances, at the Heart Butte, Starr School, or other community houses, are usually sponsored by one of the men's societies. Those I attended in the spring of 1960 were scheduled for an early evening start, yet it was usually around nine o'clock before the dancing began. The Grass and Fancy dancers were in costume and Grass, War, and other dances by those in costume were mixed with Owl dances—round dances for men and women partners—in which all could participate whether in costume or not. [431] Here, as in the Indian Days program, time was taken for give-aways—at least one was put on by the sponsoring society to honor guests and others were put on by individuals for varying reasons. At midnight the wives, sisters, and daughters of the sponsoring society members served a lunch to all in attendance, then dancing was resumed to continue until dawn. Newspaper and informants' reports indicated that the dances I attended were typical and that they continue to be held.

535 177 The attendance and participation at these dances confirmed the reports from my sample; those I identified as Indian-oriented were present, while few of the white-oriented people turned out. The crowds (usually estimated from three to four hundred in number) were made up of the same people who had been seen in most constant attendance at the Indian Days programs.

541 The more Indian-oriented communities of Starr School and Heart Butte alternately sponsor horse racing in their neighborhoods almost weekly during the

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A round dance for couples—everybody is invited to dance whether in costume or not.

431

A give-away ceremony.

summer and fall. Horse owners and racing fans from many parts of the reservation turn out to visit and watch the horses run. Interregional rivalry is often intense. The fastest horses become well-known so the outcome of the races often turns on the weight and ability of the jockey and the possibility of gaining an advantage at the start. Much time is spent in getting the betting arranged, so that two or three races are about all that can be run in an afternoon. 541

Stick games are often played after the races, and at Heart Butte the games are a regular part of the year-around weekend activities. A public room arranged 524

524 for playing the stick game as well as pool and cards was a regular gathering place
for the people of Heart Butte until it burned down a few years ago. The weekly
stick games have moved to a new location on Badger Creek.

177 The horse races attract some white-oriented horse fans, but the majority
of the crowd is Indian-oriented. Races are occasions for Indian rivalry and above
541 all to enjoy each other's company. The stick games have a regular but more lim-
177 ited following and with few exceptions, players and observers are Indian-oriented.

Song services are meetings of the singing groups and serve both as practice
524 sessions and as forms of social gathering for the people involved. The sessions are
533 uually held in the home of one of the singers, a relative, or a friend. A few kins-
men and friends—young and old, men and women—attend and the evening is
spent in singing and drumming old and new songs. The sessions break up at the
discretion of the singers and may be followed by a late supper.

788 Bundle openings and curing ceremonies (according to informant and
newspaper reports) are religious rituals to which guests are invited. The reports
755 indicate that those in attendance are always people of Indian-orientation. Some
[177] are believers and others are sympathetic but noncommitted members of the partici-
pants' families. The activities on these occasions are determined by the ritual of
the particular bundle or cure, but involve singing, drumming, prayers and some
788 dancing by selected participants. The owner of the bundle regularly paints the
778 faces of those in attendance as a mark of prayer for their well being. Bundle open-
ing ceremonies are followed by a feast. One such ceremony held at Starr School
[302] was described by one of the neighbors:
[782]

> 788 The beaver dance given by Jim White Calf was held at the home of Jim and
> Amy Whitegrass despite the terrific storm and sudden cold. There were many
> 778 people from Browning out to see this rare dance, that has long been forgotten.
> Among those attending were Mr. and Mrs. Fish Wolf Robe, Mr. and Mrs. Charlie
> ● 535 Horn, Mr. and Mrs. Tom Many Guns and Mary Ground besides the many people
> of our community. The dance began with the rythmic [sic] beating on hides to
> certain songs. The bundle was opened by Jim White Calf and Maggie Many Hides.
> The bundle consists of many skins of useful animals and small birds that are of
> help to the owner. The beaver for "energy," the otter for "speed," the ermine for
> "beauty," the swan for "grace" and the little birds for their endurance of the
> cold in the winter. The people were then painted and eight danced in a most
> graceful manner. Maggie Many Hides, Mary Ground, Isabelle, Cecile Horn, Mrs.
> Fish, Annie Old Person, Mrs. Tom Many Guns all danced like beavers with
> [574] sticks in their mouths and hands. The usual meal was served after a monstrous
> amount of energy was put into the dancing and singing. A delicious berry soup,
> [262] boiled meat, fried bread and a dessert were consumed by everyone. At the end of
> the dance one certain lady gets up and dances with little small deer hooves and
> punches a man in the crowd and it goes on until everyone is dancing. It was a
> most enjoyable occasion for a grand time was had by all (*Glacier Reporter*,
> October 12, 1961:6).

This "dance" was "long forgotten" by the reporter and others in the community
but not by the bundle-owner and the named participants, several of whom owned
788 or had owned bundles themselves. Here was a gathering of Indian-oriented people
conducting an Indian ceremony. Some undoubtedly experienced the deep religious
781 experience of a beaver bundle opening, others had a "grand time" at a "most

more common horse raid in many ways. Prior to its departure, 726
all the warriors who volunteered to participate rode for a distance outside the camp, where they mustered, dismounted, donned their war clothes and face paint, and decorated their horses, then mounted and converged upon the camp, carrying their weapons. While the mounted warriors circled the camp, several old men and women stood in the center of it, drumming and singing a lively song. The riders shouted, dismounted, and [535]
danced on foot beside their horses, imitating the prancing of spirited horses. This "riding big dance" was an impressive show of tribal solidarity and determination. It roused the fighting spirit of the entire group and sent the warriors off on their mission with the encouragement of those who remained behind. It might be likened to a modern football pep rally before a football team departs for a crucial game on the opponent's field.

Usually the raiding party was led by a prominent chief whose war experience and success in battle qualified him for leadership in the eyes of his followers. Its members rode ordinary saddle horses and led their prize buffalo horses to save their strength for the battle ahead. The warriors set out wearing their ordinary [714]
clothes, but carried their war medicines and fancy war clothes (if they were prosperous enough to own them) in bundles tied to their saddles. They carried their fire weapons (flintlocks or bows [713]
and arrows), shock weapons (war clubs and knives), and defensive shields of rawhide. Scouts were sent ahead to search for enemy camps and wandering enemy war parties.

If the scouts were lucky enough to find an inferior force, the Blackfeet lost little time in changing to their war clothes, putting on their war medicines, mounting their best horses, and attacking. Thus, in the year 1849, a large Blackfoot party (estimated, perhaps too highly, at eight hundred men) fell upon a party of fifty-two Assiniboin horse raiders and annihilated them.[12]

When seeking revenge for earlier losses at the hands of the 727
enemy, the Blackfeet wreaked terrible revenge upon their vic-

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[12] Edwin T. Denig to Alexander Culbertson, December 1, 1849, Missouri Historical Society Library.

[ca. 1850]

> to the camp, the heads, hands, feet and privates cut off, paraded on poles, and thrown around the camp, some of which found their way to the fort and were presented to the Cree Indians then there.[16] 727

Scalping an enemy, so elderly Blackfoot Indians who performed this feat in their youth have told me, was quickly accomplished by leaning over the victim who was lying on the ground face down, grasping his hair with the left hand, using the right hand to cut around his crown with a sharp knife, and jerking off the hair with skin attached, removing a section of the scalp about three inches in diameter. Some warriors who had been scalped alive recovered and lived to fight again. My aged informants corroborated Maximilian's observations that survivors of scalping generally wore caps to cover their bald spots.[17]

The Blackfoot Indians graded war honors on the basis of the degree of courage displayed in winning them. They recognized that a man might scalp an enemy who had been killed by another 703 555 and that a man might kill an enemy from a considerable distance with bullet or arrow. Their term for war honor, "*namachkani*," meant literally "a gun taken." The capture of an enemy's gun ranked as the highest war honor. The capture of a bow, shield, war bonnet, war shirt, or ceremonial pipe was also a coup of high rank. The taking of a scalp ranked below these deeds, but ahead of the capture of a horse from the enemy. The capture of a horse was too common an accomplishment to receive a higher rating.

After collecting their trophies, the successful scalp raiders rode homeward. As they neared their camp, they began to sing and 727 proudly display their trophies. The wife or other female relative of each man who had brought home a trophy carried it in the 727 535 post-raid scalp dance. The hands, feet, scalps, or even the heads of fallen enemies were raised on poles borne by the women as they danced in a circle. These gruesome trophies proved to the

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[16] *Ibid.*, 491–92.

[17] Maximilian, *Travels*, II, 120.

[ca. 1850]

727 entire camp that Blackfoot warriors had revenged their past
● 535 losses at the hands of their enemy. Usually they were thrown
away after the scalp dance. They had served their purpose.

726 Battles between large Blackfoot forces and sizable enemy ones were rare. However, during the 1840's and 1850's, the Blackfoot tribes repeatedly attacked the small Flathead, Pend d'Oreille, and Kutenai tribes when they crossed the Rockies to hunt buffalo on the plains. The Jesuit missionary Father Gregory Mengarini, who accompanied the Flatheads to the plains in the spring of 1846, graphically described one of these actions:

> When the enemy is sighted, word flies from mouth to mouth, and
> all is hurry and bustle for a few minutes. Some strip themselves
> naked. These are poor men from whom the enemy can expect
> little. Others clothe themselves in calicos of flaming colors to
> show their riches and invite the attack of such as dare to face
> [722] them. One thing remained to be done; the women and children
> and the missionary must be taken to a place of safety.
>
> Firing had already begun on both sides, and the plain was covered with horsemen curvetting and striving to get a chance to kill some one of the enemy. An Indian battle consists of a multitude of single combats. There are no ranks, no battalions, no united efforts. Every man for himself is the ruling principle, and victory depends on personal bravery and good horsemanship. There is no random shooting, every Flathead or Blackfoot always aims for the waist.[18]

727 Although this battle lasted nearly all day, only four Flathead Indians were killed. They claimed the Blackfeet lost twenty-four men. However, Indians commonly exaggerated both the numbers and the casualties of their opponents.

725 In large-scale battles, when the size of the opposing forces
726 was nearly equal, Blackfoot tactics suffered from weakness of
organization and command and the relative independence of the
individual warriors. Blackfoot fighting men were not soldiers but

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[18] *Mengarini's Narrative of the Rockies*, Montana State University, *Sources of Northwest History No. 25*, 17.

541 winning horse was often fifty to one hundred yards in the lead. Sometimes one horse played out and was not able to finish. Rarely was it a close race all the way.

After the race the gleeful winners claimed the articles they had won. If a loser protested that the race had not been fair, men of the winning society knocked him down and rubbed dirt or manure on him. With the winning horse in the lead, the victorious society marched back to camp, once around the camp circle, and stopped at the lodge of the leader. The winning horse was entrusted to the care of an old man, who picketed it near the lodge and sang to it. The men of the winning society sang, danced, and rejoiced late into the night.

721 Members of the losing society might consider this a good time to organize a raiding party in quest of a fast horse from an enemy camp—one that would enable them to turn the tables on their rivals the next summer.[10]

517 Certainly the fun-loving Blackfeet had no dearth of recreational opportunities, active or sedentary, summer or winter. Nor
535 were their activities confined to the daytime. At night the Indians gathered for social dances. Usually the women sat on one side, the men opposite them, with three or four drummers in the
[534] center. As the drummers beat a lively rhythm on their tambourine-like instruments, individuals rose and danced about, bending their knees, stomping their feet, and swaying their bodies gracefully in time to the music.

538 They whiled away the long winter nights with story-telling. Many of the older men were masters of the art of telling a good story, and their repertory was both extensive and varied. There were myths of the stars, of Napi's amusing adventures, and of the origins of sacred rituals and common customs. There were tales of animals and of the heroic deeds of Blackfoot warriors in their conflicts with many enemies. Some of these stories were humorous, even vulgar; some were educational and inspirational.

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[178]
[561]
[10] Ewers, "Horse in Blackfoot Indian Culture," B.A.E. *Bull.* 159, 227–34. The popular intersociety horse races ended with the breakdown of Blackfoot men's societies in the 1870's.

796 long poles connected by rawhide lines converged upon the medi-
cine lodge from the four cardinal directions. They sang as they
346 advanced. Then, using their poles as props, they carefully raised
the center pole into position so that it stood upright in the hole
dug to receive it. The medicine women stood by, praying that
this pole raising might be accomplished successfully. Should the
pole fail to stand upright, people would surely accuse her of
being less virtuous than she proclaimed to be.

796 Raising the center pole provided the dramatic climax to the
medicine woman's role in the sun dance. Once this pole was
346 firmly planted, her assistants led her to her lodge, where she
793 broke her fast on berry soup. Her husband took a final sweat
bath to purify himself. Meanwhile, the other men of the great
[262] encampment completed the medicine lodge as quickly as pos-
[783] sible by binding the rafters with the prepared hide thongs and
covering the sides of the lodge with green cottonwood boughs.

796 Early the next morning a booth of cottonwood boughs was
346 erected on the west side of the medicine lodge. This booth was
occupied by two or more men who periodically left it to dance
796 to the accompaniment of several old men who sang and beat
● 535 upon a buffalo rawhide with rattles. Wearing only breechclouts
[292] and moccasins, the dancers faced the sun and blew upon eagle-
bone whistles. Their dance consisted primarily of raising and
[534] lowering themselves on their toes in time to the music. These
dancers were spoken of as "weather dancers" because they were
[821] responsible for preventing rain and insuring sunny weather
through the remaining days of the ceremony. They usually per-
formed for four days, during which they refrained from eating.
At intervals during this period persons approached the weather
dancers to be painted and prayed for.

796 On the first of the four days a fire pit was dug between the
center pole and the entrance to the medicine lodge on its east
372 side. Then, one by one, victorious warriors entered the medicine
796 lodge, hung offerings to the sun on the center pole, and recounted
their war exploits. After reciting each brave deed, a warrior
372 placed a stick on the fire. Those who could add enough sticks
555

[ca. 1850]

was shouting. Then, before I started to dance, I jerked the shield off my back. 796

I leaned back and began dancing, facing the center pole. It felt 785
just like the pole was pulling me toward it. I danced from the west
toward the doorway of the lodge and back. Then, when the skewers 796
didn't break loose, the old men realized that the incisions had been 785
made too deep. Red Bead cut the outside of the incisions so they 535
would break loose. As I started dancing again the left side gave way and I continued dancing with only my right side holding. Then an old man, Strangling Wolf, got up from the crowd and called out four war honors, then jumped upon me. The second rope gave way and I fell to the ground.

The three old men cut off the rough pieces of flesh hanging from 796
my breasts. They told me to take these trimmings and the sagebrush
from my wrists, ankles, and head and place them at the base of the 785
center pole as my offering to the sun. This I did. 782

Then I took my robe and walked out of the medicine lodge alone.
I went to a lonely place and fasted for a night. I wanted to dream. 796
But I couldn't sleep at all because of the pain. At sunrise I prayed 785
to the sun.

When I got back to my lodge my mother gave me some food. I had 787
to stay in the lodge for several days. My breasts were so swollen 796
I could hardly move. Indian doctors used herb medicines to take the 785
swelling away and cure my wounds. » » »[11] [757]

Nevertheless, six decades after this event Heavy Head still bore the scars of his torture.

There is a Blackfoot tradition that the custom of self-torture [777]
was introduced from the Arapahoes through the Gros Ventres.
It was never as common among the Piegans as among the Blood tribe. Nevertheless, all three Blackfoot tribes made other sac- 782
rifices of flesh and blood to the sun. Sometimes warriors on their
way to meet the enemy cut off bits of their skin and gave them 785
to the sun along with their prayers for success in their dangerous mission. Women as well as men chopped off one or more fingers and offered them to the sun. An elderly Piegan woman once showed me the stump of a finger on one of her hands and ex-

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[11] John C. Ewers, "Self Torture in the Blood Indian Sun Dance," *Journal* Washington Academy of Sciences, Vol. XXXVIII, No. 5, 168–70.

[ca. 1850]

782 plained, "My parents had several children before I was born.
785 All of them died. When I was a baby, my mother cut off this finger and gave it to the sun so that I might live and enjoy long life. That I have done."

796 [535] [782] In the medicine lodge at sun dance time each of the men's societies danced and presented gifts to the sun. The varied ceremonies in the medicine lodge usually consumed four or more days. The lodge itself was left standing when the great camp broke up and the several hunting bands went their separate ways for the fall hunt.

756 [757] [753] Like other peoples, the Blackfoot Indians employed simple home remedies for minor ailments, but when someone was seriously ill they called upon a man or woman who had m[illegible]wers with which to cure the sick. The Blackfeet believed disease was caused by an evil spirit entering a person's body and that it could be cured by a doctor who possessed the power to expell the spirit. As Blackfoot doctors received their detailed instructions for curing the sick in dreams, their methods differed. 755 Many, however, employed singing, drumming, and calling upon their supernatural helper for assistance. Not uncommonly, the doctor appeared to extract some small object from the sick person's body as proof that the cause of illness had been removed. 756 [752] [462] Some doctors were specialists in treating broken bones, snake bites, or battle wounds. Many of the most renowned doctors were women. It was customary to pay the doctor one or more horses for his services. The family of a victim of a prolonged illness might give all their possessions to the Indian doctor.

775 The Blackfoot Indians believed that after death the soul traveled to the Sand Hills, a desolate country south of the Saskatchewan River. There the deceased entered upon a new life similar to the one he or she had lived on earth. The dead were invisible to the living. Nevertheless, Indians who traveled through the lonely sand hill country claimed they heard strange noises and saw the trails and deserted camp circles of the dead. The Blackfeet claimed that the ghosts of the dead sometimes returned to communicate with the living in weird, whistling sounds.

[ca. 1880-1900]

Short
Face, one of my elderly informants, recalled that this unsympa- 177
thetic agent sentenced Indians who cut off their fingers in mourn- 657
ing or built a sweat lodge to thirty days in jail. He even threat- 689
ened to jail women who did beadwork.

Such efforts to force the Indians to abandon their traditional 177
ceremonies and customs served only to rouse the Indians' resent-
ment. After the persecuting agents were replaced, the Piegans 657
resumed the forbidden practices with even greater zeal. Under
less hostile agents they revived and continued the sun dance, 177
making only one concession to the interests of the whites. They 796
moved the ceremony ahead several weeks so it would coincide
with the white man's July 4 holiday season. In 1900 boys were
playing hooky from Willow Creek School to visit the picturesque
sun dance encampment near by.[23]

Often visitors from neighboring tribes formerly hostile to the
Blackfeet visited the sun dance encampment. These visits were 177
accompanied by exchanges of gifts between the visitors and 431
their hosts. The Assiniboins from the east gave the Piegans shiny,
catlinite pipe bowls, beautifully made buckskin suits decorated [276]
with porcupine quillwork, and breastplates and necklaces of [292]
bone hairpipes. Piegan women admired the feather designs em- [301]
ployed in Assiniboin quillwork and copied them in their own [531]
beadwork. The Assiniboins also gave some Piegan men flowing
feather bonnets of the Sioux type, which became very popular 177
with Blackfoot leaders for ceremonial wear and for dress-parade
headgear. By the turn of the century, some Piegan men were 292
making these bonnets as skillfully as the Sioux craftsmen. The
traditional straight-up bonnet of the Blackfeet was becoming
obsolete.

From the Assiniboins in the mid-nineties the Piegans also ac- 177
quired the grass dance, a lively, young men's social dance with
its associated paraphernalia of deer hair roaches and hawk bells 535
which jingled merrily as the dancers cavorted.

Friendly Crow Indians gave the Piegans moccasins and pen- 177
dants of human hair which could be worn by a short-haired In- 291
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[23] *Ibid.*, 1900, 267.

> 492 714 lower jaw; both parts were profusely decorated with red, yellow, and blue feathers. We were told that such a headdress as this was, in Indian estimation, worth a couple of horses. [Wilson, 1887, p. 190.]

In the eighties, Frederic Remington, the artist, saw "the equipment of a Blackfoot war pony, composed of a mask and bonnet gorgeous with red flannel, brass tack heads, silver plates and feathers . . . " (Remington, 1889, p. 340). Wissler (1913, p. 457, fig. 29) reproduced native drawings of masks employed in the "riding big dance" by the Piegan.[57]

492 [531] [541] I have seen a single example of Blackfoot horse headgear. It was a beautiful mask made of a single piece of skin entirely covered with porcupine-quill work, which fitted over the forehead and face of a horse. Holes were cut for the eyes. This specimen, which was probably not over 50 years old, was said to have been used by the Piegan in dress parades. It was owned by the late Mrs. John B. Monteith of Glacier Park Station, who showed it to me in 1942.

BODY PAINT

492 231 [703] [727] [535] The Blackfoot favored red paint for decorating the bodies of their horses. Some young men daubed round spots on both hips of their horses solely for ornament. If a man ran over an enemy while riding in battle he was privileged to paint a hand on both shoulders of his war horse. Just before a returning horse-raiding party entered their home camp, its members stopped to paint red, horizontal lines across the foreheads of their stolen horses. Wissler (1913, p. 457, fig. 29) has described and reproduced native drawings of body painting on horses in the "riding big dance."[58]

MANE AND TAIL ORNAMENTS

492 A Blackfoot on the warpath braided the tail of his horse part way, tied the end of the tail in a knot, and fastened a feather in it with a buckskin cord. Weasel Tail claimed the three Blackfoot tribes, the Gros Ventres, and Sarsi all followed this practice so they could tell their horses from those of their enemies. In the summer of 1942,

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[171] [57] In 1806 Alexander Henry accompanied an Hidatsa trading party to a Cheyenne village. When they neared their destination some of the Cheyenne rode out to meet them on fine horses some of which "were masked in a very singular manner, to imitate the head of a buffalo, red deer, or cabbrie with horns, the mouth and nostrils—even the eyes—trimmed with red cloth. This ornamentation gave them a very fierce appearance (Henry and Thompson, 1897, vol. 1, p. 377). Whether the elaborate Blackfoot and Cheyenne horse headgear was in any way influenced by Spanish horse armor is problematical. Certainly the horned feature appears to have been a native invention.

[171] [58] Lewis and Clark noted that among the Lemhi Shoshoni visited in 1805, "a favorite (horse) is frequently painted" (Coues, 1893, vol. 2, p. 568). Teit claimed Flathead "horses were often painted" (Teit 1930, p. 353). An Omaha man "frequently painted his horse to represent a valorous act . . . or in a manner intended as a representation of a vision" (Fletcher and La Flesche, 1911, pp. 352–353.)

721 1855, Blackfoot scalp raids may have averaged one every 2 years over
a half-century period. Although horse raiding continued unabated
178 for three decades after 1855, scalp raiding was not pursued with the
115 same frequency or fury as in earlier years. None of my elderly informants
had fought in a large-scale intertribal battle. In discussing
scalp raiding they relied heavily on what they had been told rather
than on their personal experiences.

THE RIDING BIG DANCE

726 An impressive preliminary to the departure of a scalp-raiding party
was the riding big dance, referred to by Wissler (1913, pp. 456–458)
535 as the "horseback dance or big dance." The warriors who volunteered
[231] to join the party first rode out of camp for some distance. There
they changed to their war clothes, painted themselves in their war
paint, painted pictographic representations of their coups on their war horses and decorated them with masks, bells, martingales, and feathers in their tails. Then they mounted and converged upon the camp from the four cardinal directions, carrying their weapons. As a number of old men and women stood in the center of the camp beating drums and singing a song with a lively rhythm, the warriors circled the camp on horseback. Then they shouted, dismounted, and danced on foot, imitating the prancing of their horses, which stepped along beside them to the beating of their drums.

Informants said there were no leaders in this dance. All warriors planning to embark on the expedition took part. The "riding big dance" was also given in former times at the Sun Dance encampment. Thus it survived as a spectacle after its discontinuance as a prelude to
535 a war party. Informants said the Piegan had not observed the riding
178 big dance since about 1900. Two of them expressed the wish that this
picturesque and exciting dance might be revived that younger Indians might learn of the splendor of their tribal past. In buffalo days, however, the riding big dance had as its "chief function . . . the arrousal of courage and enthusiasm for war," as Wissler (ibid., p. 456) has reported.

THE WAR HORSE

726 While the Blackfoot horse raider usually started for the enemy camp
afoot, the scalp raider uniformly rode to war. Warriors generally
492 employed their best buffalo horses as war horses. The same qualities
of speed and endurance, intelligence, sure-footedness and courage required of the buffalo runner were demanded of the war horse. The winter hunting horse was a favorite mount for war when snow was on the ground. Through experience in hunting a rapport was established between man and mount that enabled the rider to know the

The highlight of the postraid celebration was the scalp dance which Bradley has described: 175

> When scalps were taken they were turned over to the squaws upon the arrival of the war party at the village, to be prepared for the scalp dance. This was done by stretching each scalp upon a hoop, the hoop being attached to a small pole, six or eight feet long, a separate pole for each scalp. Each pole is borne by a squaw, usually a relative of the warrior who took it, who leads in the dance, the warriors and squaws all arrayed in their best attire following her in single file in a circle of a size proportioned to the number of dancers. The step of the dance is little more than a march in quick time, to the music of a song peculiar to the dance. Where the number of dancers is considerable several rings are formed in different parts of the tent and the dance is frequently kept up with intervals of rest for twelve or fourteen days. [Bradley, 1923, pp. 269-270.] [88] 727 535

If a member of a raiding party had had a brother, a son, or other close relative killed by the enemy tribe engaged, he mutilated the body of any enemy he killed on the raid, as part of his revenge. Informants said it was common for such a man to cut off the hand of the enemy, pierce a hole in it, pass a cord through the hole and tie the trophy to the bridle of his horse. Thus he carried it back to camp. The hand was carried in the scalp dance as a symbol implying that revenge had been taken for the loss of his relative. After the scalp dance the hand was buried or thrown away. It had served its purpose. 727 535 727

DEFENSIVE WARFARE

DEFENSE OF THE CAMP

Blackfoot camp defenses ordinarily were woefully inadequate. The competent military observer, Lt. James Bradley, has said of them: 721

> Like most nomadic tribes, the Blackfeet never fortified their camps, and it was rare that they chose them with any reference to their possibilities of defense . . . It was not their custom to maintain a guard about the camp either day or night, so that, contrary to popular belief, the surprise of a village was not difficult . . . When no danger was apprehended, bands of horses were sometimes driven to a secluded place and left for days together without a guard. It is thus seen why a daring war party could successfully approach within the vicinity of a village and drive off the outlying bands of horses which were ever such a temptation to the enterprising and adventurous brave. [Bradley, 1923, pp. 286-287.] [361]

With Bradley's criticism in mind, I discussed Blackfoot camp defenses with my two eldest male informants, Lazy Boy and Weasel Tail. They acknowledged that neither the Piegan nor Blood tribes normally posted night guards. They did picket their best horses nightly in front of their lodges. They also relied heavily upon their dogs to bark and waken them if enemy raiders entered the camp at night. [231]

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[88] Both Maximilian (1906, vol. 23, 115) and Schultz (1907, p. 223) have written accounts of the Blackfoot scalp dance based upon their personal observations.

Then came the ceremonial climax. Wallace Night Gun, the leader, 796
covered his head with a blanket and sang three songs. Then, pipe
in hand, he prayed to the spirits of Wolf Calf's horses, Sitting-on-a- 755
Hill and Gone-in-Different-Brush, the horses that had given Wolf
Calf his secret power. Night Gun then took from his bundle the
mane and chestnut of Wolf Calf's sacred stallion and prayed for the
sick who had requested the ceremony. Then, as other cult members
drummed, he rose and danced, holding a braided rawhide rope, noosed
at one end, and a whip over his wrist. Both were taken from his
bundle (pl. 16, *B*, *b*, *c*)A. Three times as he danced he made gestures
toward the little rawhide horse in front of the altar as if to rope it,
holding the rope in his right hand. Then he repeated these gestures
with his left hand, and again with his right hand extended. Night [535]
Gun danced in place, always facing the altar.

The leader then sat down and called upon the tongue cutter to ask
if the tongue soup was ready to serve. Receiving an affirmative reply 796
he began to dismantle the altar. First he picked up the rawhide
horse and wrapped it. Then his first assistant removed the plumes 755
from the altar, one at a time, handed them to him, and he wrapped 532
them. Finally he asked for volunteers to destroy the remainder of the
altar. His first assistant and one of the cult members stepped for-
ward with blankets wrapped about their waists. Night Gun gave each 796
of them a bit of horse medicine which they chewed and rubbed on the 755
soles of their moccasins. The leader told them, "Now, dance up to
the painting three times; on the third time step on it and smash it down 535
flat." In accompaniment to the beating of drums, the two men danced 532
side by side toward the altar. Twice they retreated, rearing back-
ward like skittish horses. Then they boldly advanced with pawing
steps, stepped upon the altar, turned their feet upon it and destroyed
the painting.

Next the leader addressed the women sitting on the floor opposite 796
the stove. Two women rose, each with a cup in hand, and danced to-
ward the kettle on the stove, which had been boiling for hours. 755
Twice they retreated. The third time they placed their cups in the 262
kettle. The leader then told them to place three pieces of the tongue in
a cup and to set it in front of him. With a stick covered with red
paint he speared a piece of tongue, prayed for the sick woman, and
gave her the first piece. In succession he removed the other pieces and
gave one to each of his assistants.

The leader then instructed the women to take the earth that had
composed the altar and the remains of the smudge outside, pray to
them, and bury them where people would not step. Next he picked
up the painted rock, prayed no one would be hurt by stepping on a rock

A [See category 778, p. 358-0--Analyst]

778 342 claimed Wolf Call formerly owned the horse-painted lodge and transferred it to a North Blackfoot medicine man before he died. Other informants denied this. One man claimed the horse-painted lodge of the Piegan was of Gros Ventres origin.

THE SOUTH PIEGAN BLACK HORSE SOCIETY

237 535 575 Jim Walters said that Mountain Chief (who died in 1942) originated a dancing society known as the Black Horse Society. Mountain Chief preserved the head of a black horse he had stolen from the enemy. During his dance he carried this head on a stick, and gave away horses. Jim's father obtained the horsehead from Mountain Chief and gave the dance, giving away good horses and receiving poor ones in return. Jim told his father it wasn't worth keeping. His father gave the head to John Two Guns, who kept it for a while, then gave it to someone else, who probably threw it away. At the Christmas dance at Starr School in 1942, a dance by members of the Black Horse Society was requested. Only one man came out to dance. There seems to have been no direct connection between this short-lived society and the horse dance of the horse medicine men, although the existence of the powerful horse medicine cult may have inspired the organization of the Black Horse Society.

EVIDENCES OF THE HORSE MEDICINE CULT AMONG OTHER TRIBES

171 Respect for the supernatural powers of horse medicine men was widespread among the Plains Indians. Although most comparative data on this subject relate to the nomadic tribes, the earliest reference to the existence of the cult appears in an account of the horticultural Arikara written by the fur trader Tabeau in 1803–04. Tabeau regarded Kakawita, chief of the Male Crow division of the Arikara, in whose lodge the trader resided, as the most influential and highly respected man in the tribe. Kakawita possessed a medicine bundle containing a little whip "which makes a famous courser out of a draught horse, and, when he hangs it on his wrist, while singing a certain song, all the horsemen who accompany him fall from their horses." Among the chief's taboos was the belief that his "powder [sic] was weakened if some one broke a bone in his lodge" (Tabeau, 1939, pp. 185–186). Three decades later Maximilian (1906, vol. 23, p. 394) noted an Arikara taboo against breaking a marrow bone in a hut. "If they neglect this precaution, their horses will break their legs in the prairie." Skinner (1914, p. 532) heard of the Plains Cree horse dance but was unable to obtain detailed information regarding it. He believed, perhaps erroneously, that it was "presumably . . . a mimetic dance to obtain increase of the herds." The anthropological literature lacks informa-

joined the horns as he was then living with the Blood. For this he paid a horse, a 575
gun, a saddle, and many blankets.[165] 424

Ordinary memberships in the Horn today bring no less. Many bring con- [432]
siderably more. The society's transfer ceremony was the most spectacular [796]
event at the Sun Dance.

Dance Societies[166]

A number of these associations still flourish on the reserve. Their mem- 575
bership problems are not formidable since their purpose is social and their 535
fees nominal, mostly contributions of food at the time of the dance.

The Women's Society[167]

The *Matoki*, as the Women's Society is called, raised their lodge at the 575
Sun Dance and, assisted by six men—four singers and two messengers—cli- [796]
maxed a four-day ceremony by imitating buffalo driven into the park. In
1939, fifteen women participated, all of them well beyond their prime. The [424]
leader's pole which, according to Mr. Duvall, cost "twelve horses and an
appropriate amount of other property" has not changed hands for forty [435]
years, although "like the horns and other societies the members sell, or [425]
transfer, to others usually . . . at the same time."[168]

The Sun Lodge

With the exception of three years, the Sun Lodge has been raised annually 796
since 1910, sixteen women vowing it, sometimes two of them jointly:[169]

1 woman vowed the Sun Lodge but did not put it up
10 women put up the Sun Lodge once (one year two jointly)
1 woman put up the Sun Lodge twice
2 women put up the Sun Lodge three times (one, once with a woman who raised it five times)
1 woman put up the Sun Lodge four times
1 woman put up the Sun Lodge five times (four times since 1929 alone and once with one of the women who raised it three times)

The demand for chastity before marriage and fidelity after may have 836
eliminated a goodly number, but one informant felt sure that that was not 554
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837
[184]

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[165] Wissler, *Blackfoot Societies*, p. 426 ff.

[166] *Ibid.*, p. 451 ff.

[167] *Ibid.*, p. 430 ff.

[168] *Ibid.*, pp. 433, 432.

[169] Harry D. Biele, Field Notes. For a full discussion of the Sun Dance and the building of the Sun Lodge, see Wissler, *The Sun Dance of the Blackfoot Indians*, pp. 220-270.

836 the only reason for the limited participation: "There are a lot of women on
554 this reserve who could put up a Sun Lodge, but don't want to." While their
796 virtue might be unassailable, she was convinced that they either could not
837 muster enough wealth, or did not care to meet the considerable demands
[778] for buying the *natoas* bundle,[170] putting up the lodge and staging a give-
[184] away.

782 The rewards of chastity unsupported by property are limited indeed. In
431 1939, the Sun Lodge vower only gave two horses away. The transferrer
796 asked by an interested bystander how he "had come out," laughed and
answered, "I never did as badly as this time." The crowd, well-aware that
425 there was to be no give-away, showed little interest in the proceedings.
[832] When the great moment arrived, the sun pole could barely be raised; most
[535] of the men preferred to dance the Owl Dance, that aid to flirtation and liai-
son. But the conspicuous display at the transfer of Horn Society member-
[575] ships two days earlier had drawn a large and expectant company.

Bundles[171]

575 The costs, limited memberships available, and unappealing demands of
424 such a society as the Crazy Dogs were clearly deterrents to participation,
184 but nevertheless an impressive proportion of the adult male population
bought into the cheaper (younger) organizations, and for special reasons
422 into the Horns. The ownership of medicine pipes and beaver bundles is
778 much more restricted. Only thirty, or less than one-tenth of the group
184 sampled, bought pipes at all:

25 bought 1 pipe
1 bought 2 pipes
2 bought 3 pipes
2 bought 4 pipes

Only six have bought beaver bundles:[172]

3 bought 1 bundle
3 bought 2 bundles

Of the first group, one had also purchased a medicine pipe; of the second, one had purchased four.

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[170] It is possible to vow the Sun Lodge without buying the *natoas* bundle. Cf. Wissler, *Blackfoot Sun Dance*, pp. 241, 246.

[171] Many other types than those discussed here were in circulation. For full descriptions, see Wissler, *Blackfoot Bundles*, passim.

[172] Wissler (*Blackfoot Bundles*, p. 169), writes in 1912: "At present beaver bundles are to be found among the divisions except the Blood, among whom they have not been particularly popular for a long time."

PLATE III

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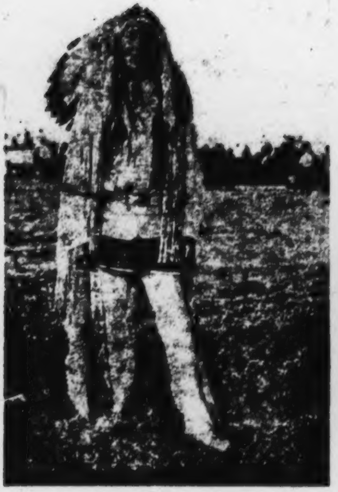
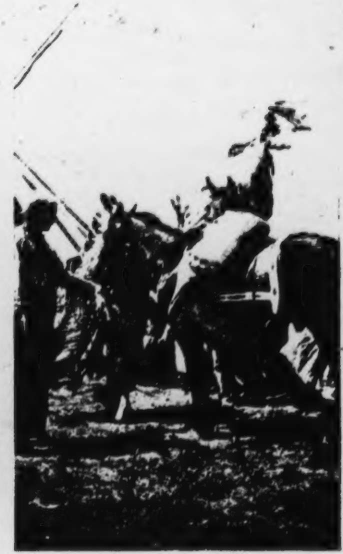
[492]



FAVORITE CHILD READY FOR THE OWL DANCE



MOUNTED ON A PAINTED HORSE, THE LONG TIME PIPE ON HIS BACK

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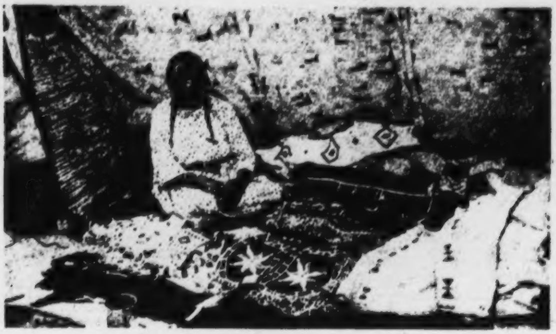

HEAD CHIEF'S WIFE IN PAINTED TIPI

[p.44-C]

106 non-Indian. Some of the older men who remembered that their mothers
121 used some herbs, but did not know what these were and did not use them
177 themselves are credited with no knowledge.

184 **Indian Dance** is rated with an "X" for active participation in
[758] Indian social dancing, either as a dancer or a singer. "Attend."
[535] signifies frequent attendance at these affairs as an observer. Men rated "Attend." have taken part in the past, and their attendance now could be called vicarious participation. They know the roles and the rules and are aware of all that is going on. "Attend-" marks the occasional observer who enjoys watching the "Indians" perform their "colorful" dances. The ratings rank individual interest in a social activity that has continuity with Blackfeet culture.

[525] **Stick Game** playing is rated "X" when the man does play regularly, "X-" for occasional, and left blank when he does not play. This complex and time-consuming gambling game is another activity rooted in Indian culture. The gambling motive seems secondary to the social satisfaction derived from participation, a judgement based upon observation of hours of playing, singing, conversation, joking and alternating moments of tension and hilarity that precede the resolution of the game.

[575] **Indian Societies** records membership in named social organizations that are presently active among the more Indian population on the reservation. The nature and composition of extant Indian societies was not fully explored, but it appears that these are predominantly social clubs, relatively unrelated to the old age-grade societies reported by the earlier ethnologists. They are more akin to Wissler's third

106 separation, travel, better education, or some other factor which
121 might be important.

177 184 [191] The "Level of English" ratings, of course, are relative; those among the sample who speak least fluently are rated "fair" because people are known, outside the probability sample, who are much less fluent in their use of English. A "poor" rating is left open for such people.

[797] Church Attendance is included in the table because it is hoped that attendance at Christian services might give an index of variable commitment to Christian religion, as well as provide a measure of some typical interaction patterns. The most frequent rating in the column, "occasional" attendance, a translation of responses such as "once in a while," or "every now and then," does not appear to have diagnostic value. There remains a possibility that this information, expanded by available additional data, may have some significance when put within the context of sociocultural configurations that will be analyzed later.

● [535] Western Dance is included to assess participation within a white social context and the ratings are self-explanatory.

[524] Cards, or card playing, has been mentioned previously and will be examined later if it is found to be a part of any meaningful configuration.

[575] Western Organizations membership is expected to indicate greater interest in activities related to white culture and possibly, according to the particular kind of organization--Veterans' clubs, Lions Club, Knights of Columbus, Masons, and similar lodges--give clues to striving for upward mobility within American society.

177 communities--Warm Springs, Yakima, Umatilla, Crow, Gros Ventre,
184 Cheyenne, Assiniboine, Mandan, Flathead and Cree, among others.
541 Sleeping and cooking tents are erected behind the tepee circle and
[574] upwards of seven hundred people will be living on the grounds during
the encampment. Each family camping on the grounds is paid a cash
allowance toward their maintenance and shares in a daily meat or food
ration.

The formal program opens with a parade through the main street
of Browning and out to the encampment grounds near the Museum of the
● [535] Plains Indian, one-half mile west of town. A regular program of Indian
[533] dancing to the accompaniment of singing and drumming by local and
visiting singing groups is scheduled each afternoon, and occasionally
continues during the evening if the weather permits.

The dancing sessions are interrupted frequently by both planned
and unplanned intermission activities--special dance contests, games,
[431] and "give-aways." Some of the last mentioned gift giving ceremonies
are sponsored by the Indian Days Committee to honor and give gifts
[553] to invited guests from other tribes. Others are put on by individuals
[556] and families who wish, and are expected, to give gifts in remembrance
[554] of a deceased relative, to give a new and significant Indian name to a
child in a public naming ceremony, or to honor some other person by a
[533] display of generosity in his name. At the 1959 celebration two Chiefs
had the singers sing their respective power songs and then gave gifts
to friends and visitors.

[648] Another almost regularly occurring part of the program is a
ceremony in which distinguished visitors are adopted into the Blackfeet

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encampment grounds preceding the secular festivities. The participants were largely people of Indian-orientation as were most of the spectators. Modern Indian-orientation does not require full knowledge and belief in the old religion as evidenced by the impatience of many younger people with the restriction on social dancing. The elders had trouble curbing the secular activities. Yet, from observation and reports, the families and friends of the participants took minor parts in the ceremony and watched the proceedings with mixed emotions of interest, understanding, tolerance and respect.

The key roles were filled by older men who knew the ritual; other participants were chosen from the families of these people and from among social and political leaders from both segments of the community. The men who had reported some knowledge and participation were in attendance, and of these, some were participating.

Indian Social Dances

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● 535
[533]
Social dancing at the Indian Days Celebration functioned as both entertainment for the tourists and recreation for the participants. The dancers did not await an audience but started dancing as soon as a singing group began to drum. The entertainment rarely followed the schedule, but started and stopped according to the mood of the individual dancers. Some would arrive on time, others an hour or two late. Evening dances were or were not held depending upon the weather and the inclination of the dancers, rather than upon the presence of an audience. In fact many dancers showed signs of impatience with the tourist onlookers who would often invade the dance circle to take pictures. Tourists appeared to be a tolerated nuisance rather than

177 spectators to be entertained. The Indian visitors, who understood
184 the dancing and participated at least vicariously, were the more
535 orderly, appreciative and appreciated audience. The point is that
the dancing at the encampment was a social and recreational outlet.

[484] During the summer and fall people who owned dancing costumes left the reservation to participate in similar Indian gatherings held throughout the plains area. Indian-oriented members of the sample and their families were often reported absent on such visits.

In the late fall, winter, and early spring a series of social dances, often coinciding with national holidays, were held at the community halls in surrounding neighborhoods. People from other parts of the reservation were invited or were free to attend. Often people came from neighboring reservations as well.

These dances, at the Heart Butte, Starr School, or Little Badger community houses, were usually sponsored by one of the men's societies. Scheduled for an early evening start, it was usually around nine o'clock before the dancing began. The Grass and Fancy dancers were in costume and Grass, War, and other dances by those in costume were mixed with Owl dances--round dances for men and women partners--in which
[431] all could participate whether in costume or not. Here, as in the Indian Days program, time was taken for give-aways--at least one was put on by the sponsoring society to honor guests, and others were put on by individuals for varying reasons. At midnight the wives, sisters and daughters of the sponsoring society members served a lunch to all in attendance, then dancing was resumed to continue until dawn.

The attendance and participation confirmed the reports of the sample members; those categorized as Indian-oriented were present, while

177 few of the white-oriented persons turned out. One white-oriented
184 informant went with us to one of the dances at Starr School and remarked
535 that this was the first time she had attended an Indian dance indoors.
The crowds (usually estimated from three to four hundred in number) were made up of the same people who had been seen in most constant attendance at the Indian Days programs.

Neighborhood Horse Races and Stick Games

177 The more Indian-oriented communities, Starr School, Heart Butte,
184 Little Badger and Two Medicine, alternately sponsored horse racing in
541 their neighborhoods. These were almost weekly affairs during the
summer and fall, with those at Heart Butte the most frequent. Horse owners and racing fans from many parts of the reservation turned out to visit and watch the horses run.

[524] Stick games were played after the races, and at Heart Butte
the games were a regular part of the year around weekend activities.
[529] A public game room was operated by one of the residents and an area
in this room had been arranged for playing the stick game. This was a regular gathering place for the people of Heart Butte and drew a few visitors from other parts of the reservation.

The horse races attracted some white-oriented horse fans, but the majority of the crowd was Indian-oriented. Races were occasions for Indian people to get together to enjoy the races and each other's
[524] company. The stick games had a regular but more limited following
and with few exceptions, players and observers were Indian-oriented.

Song Services, Bundle Openings and Curing Ceremonies

184 177 533 Song services were meetings of the singing groups and served both as practice sessions and as forms of social gathering for the people involved. The sessions were held in the home of one of the singers, a relative, or a friend. A few kinsmen and friends might attend and an evening was spent in singing and drumming old and new songs. The session would break up at the discretion of the singers and might be followed with a late-hour supper.

796 778 184 177 Bundle openings and curing ceremonies (according to informant and newspaper reports) were religious rituals to which people were invited. The reports indicate that those in attendance were always people of Indian-orientation. Some were believers and others were sympathetic but noncommitted members of the participants' families. The activities on these occasions were determined by the ritual of the particular bundle or cure, but involved singing, drumming, [782] prayers and some dancing by selected participants. The owner of the [302] bundle regularly painted the faces of those in attendance as a mark of prayer for their well being. Bundle opening ceremonies are followed by a feast. One such ceremony held recently at Starr School was described by one the neighbors:

> [535] [825] The beaver dance given by Jim White Calf was held at the home of Jim and Amy Whitegrass despite the terrific storm and sudden cold. There were many people from Browning out to see this rare dance, that has long been forgotten. Among those attending were Mr. and Mrs. Fish Wolf Robe, Mr. and Mrs. Charlie Horn, Mr. and Mrs. Tom Many Guns and Mary Ground besides the many people of our community. The dance began with the rythmic [sic] beating on hides to certain songs. The bundle was opened by Jim White Calf and Maggie Many Hides. The bundle consists of many skins of useful animals and small birds that are of help to the owner. The beaver for "energy," the otter

> for "speed," the ermine for "beauty," the swan for "grace"
> 184 and the little birds for their endurance of the cold in the
> 177 winter. The people were then painted and eight danced in a
> most graceful manner. Maggie Many Hides, Mary Ground,
> 796 Isabelle, Cecile Horn, Mrs. Fish, Annie Old Person,
> Mrs. Tom Many Guns all danced like beavers with sticks in
> 778 their mouths and hands. The usual meal was served after a
> monstrous amount of energy was put into the dancing and
> [825] singing. A delicious berry soup, boiled meat, fried bread
> and a dessert were consumed by everyone. At the end of the
> [535] dance one certain lady gets up and dances with little small
> deer hooves and punches a man in the crowd and it goes on
> [264] until everyone is dancing. It was a most enjoyable occasion
> for a grand time was had by all.[173]

[237] This "dance" was "long forgotten" by the reporter and others in the community, but not by the bundle-owner and the named participants, several of whom owned or had owned bundles themselves. Here was a gathering of Indian-oriented people conducting an Indian ceremony. Some undoubtedly experienced the deep religious experience of a beaver bundle opening, others had a "grand time" at a "most enjoyable occasion," a social gathering of people who shared interests in aspects of Indian culture.

Visiting

184 The social grouping of Indian-oriented people gains further
177 support from observations of informal clustering. At the Indian Days
574 encampment, and at the social dances in particular, it was relatively easy to watch for the Indian-oriented people and to notice with whom they spent their time in informal groupings--visiting, chatting, watching and relaxing. The range of Indian-oriented people was expanded by

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[173] "Starr School News," The Glacier Reporter, Browning, Montana, Vol. 31, No. 34, October 12, 1961, p. 6.

000 177 defying the police to bring him to justice. Other forms of defiance that showed courage according to Indian ideas were shooting cattle, stealing whiskey, and disobeying white injunctions to remain on the reserve.

648 Even more disconcerting for the whites than these minor forays was the second Riel uprising of 1885. The white population was outnumbered, especially if all the Indians of the Northwest were to unite. It did not know the country so well, and had less to lose by defeat. Panic seized the whites and volunteer brigades were organized in all towns for defence. When the Cree chief Poundmaker sent an emissary to Crowfoot asking for help, white officials held their breath. Rations were increased, and extra merchandise was distributed to pacify the Blackfoot. Father Lacombe was sent to exert his influence on Crowfoot. To the great relief of all concerned Crowfoot refused to co-operate with the Crees, saying, "This is your war. We have made peace with the whites." Wishing to benefit by Blackfoot loyalty, a few whites suggested inducing the Blackfoot to rekindle their latent hostility toward the Crees and join forces with the government. Though it would not have been difficult to enlist the services of many, the conservative white leaders, fearing that the Blackfoot might not stop fighting after having put down the insurgents, refused permission.

For the most part the rebellion passed the reserve quietly. 563 Parents used it as a pretext to withdraw their children from the newly-founded missionary school, and some chiefs showed their sympathetic generosity by caring for a little group of Cree women and children which had escaped from the battle zone in the north. Rested and comforted, many of the refugees went on to the United States, but some remained with the Blackfoot. A few with their descendants, even though always specified as Crees, live on the 648 reserve today, and have married Blackfoot. Crowfoot's trip in 1887 to Ottawa on the new railway was ordered by the government largely in appreciation of Blackfoot loyalty to the government during the Riel uprising. The well-phrased words that Father Lacombe translated to the velvet-coated officials convinced all that Her Majesty's munificence had not been wasted on an unappreciative savage.

Those who did not try the warpath as a means for showing their 517 worth turned to a new kind of competition. With food issued weekly, and the old activities of hunting unnecessary or impossible, the ● 535 Indians found themselves with time on their hands. In former days 796 these were the occasions for dancing and celebration. Consequently,

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a veritable epidemic of society dances and ceremonials sprang up, 535
attended by all who could pay the price. Those who knew the songs
and rituals suddenly stepped into the limelight, even though they 796
may have had but few war deeds to their credit. Here was a new 555
opportunity to be known, to stand out before all others and to
espouse the Indian way of life. Men resolved to join every society
and to own every medicine bundle. Then in a smoking ceremony
where each could display his ritual accomplishments, even the
young who had never seen an enemy camp could compete on equal
grounds with the taunts of the old. In terms of property and sacred
regalia they might even make these old warriors shy before them.

As a result medicine bundles and society regalia were furiously 575
bought and sold. Each new buyer, showing his generosity by paying
more than the previous owner, ridiculed his society enemies for 778
stinginess. Prices for membership in the Horn society soared from [432]
a gun and blanket before treaty to a horse, and from one horse to [435]
several horses. These prices reflect the favourable conditions for
horse-breeding. In five years the number of horses on the reserve 231
doubled, from 540 in 1885 to 1,085 in 1890, according to the agency
estimates. In the years around 1900 there were nearly 3,000 horses, [435]
and it was not unknown to pay sixty horses for a Medicine Pipe.

Officialdom looked askance upon these activities, for this care- 657
free circus took time away from gardening and prolonged unneces-
sarily the process of making the Blackfoot self-sufficient. At first 177
the great problems for the agents were in keeping the Indians on
the reserve, preventing horse-stealing, and attempting to interest
them in the care of their houses and gardens. Then the Sun Dance 796
with its misunderstood torture ceremony became an irritation. Some
whites conceived the chief object of the Sun Dance to be the fur- 785
nishing of a sadistic spectacle to the Indians, who were imagined 177
to smack their lips in delight as the young men tore the skewers 657
from their flesh.[1] As soon as this phase of the ceremony could be
abolished, the Sun Dance would disappear, they believed, for the

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[1] The Sun Dance was an annual ceremony intended to ensure the people against disaster. The central rites, led by a woman, lasted only four days, but many other events also occurred during this season. Since this was the one time of the year when the entire tribe camped together, it was an occasion for joyful renewing of acquaintance, exchanging property, and feasting bosom companions. Among such varied activities, the torture ceremony was a relatively minor event participated in by a few. These were mainly warriors on a raid who, in peril of their lives, had sought the aid of the sun, vowing that, if they returned safely, they would give flesh in return. If they escaped successfully, these men were obliged to fulfil their side of the contract. In the ceremony skewers were driven through the muscles of the chest and back to be torn loose by the participant in a dance.

221 of Pepsi-Cola, or a little cash for a hand game, seek work hauling hay from the outlying stacks to the stock-farm. Others need to buy galoshes for their children at school or a brightly-coloured shirt to give away at a dance. But most who do not mind prefer to pass a more leisurely winter.

535 To be sure there are occasional gala events. A Christmas dance is sponsored by the Horn society. The Half Braves or the Crazy Dogs may announce a dance at Crowfoot Hall, where all but the members of the rival societies come to enjoy a rousing evening.

221 Except for these occasions the bitter wind from the mountains,
though punctuated by occasional chinooks, keeps most people close
[224] to their stoves. In February or March a hardy few set traps along
the backwaters for beaver or muskrat. When the season is good,
[273] these trappers make enough to buy a case of lemon extract and enjoy
among friends a rare evening of intoxication. Then fewer trucks stop
at the mine shaft, and gradually the miners drift back to their homes
to wait again for April, hoping that the new child will arrive before
the payment of annuities.

Sources of Income

434 The income of the reserve may be considered under five main
heads: (1) The interest on the trust fund. This sum is variously used
for maintenance of the reserve, continuation of the sources of production
of the reserve, and for direct payment of annuities to the
[427] Indians. (2) Rent from lands. Several thousand acres are rented
or leased to white farmers. The money from this source is added to
the trust fund as capital; because this amount varies from $40,000
in good years to below $2,000 in poor years and because it benefits
the Indian only through increased interest on the trust funds, we
shall not further consider this as a source of income. (3) Income
from the productivity of the reserve, e.g. coal, agricultural products,
beef, horses, etc. (4) Appropriations of the Dominion government
through the Indian Affairs Branch. The salaries of the agency staff,
including an interpreter, the annual per capita treaty money, and
part of the school budget are paid from these funds. (5) Miscellaneous
funds contributed by the churches which provide for the
education of the children, by white farmers and ranchers as wages
for Indians at temporary jobs, and by neighbouring Doukhobor
settlers who sometimes trade with the Indians.

575 for these dances. Yet in another sense these societies continue.
Three of the four societies hold one or more dances during the course
178 of the year. At the New Year the Half-Braves give a dance; in
midwinter the Crazy Dogs hold another; the Prairie Chickens
575 may have one too. At the Sun Dance one or two societies always
● 535 dance. These dances, five or six during the year, constitute
[431] systems of exchange in the same way that religious ceremonials do.
Food and goods are given away by the members; their relatives
give away blankets, money, and shirts to visitors in honour of a
member.

434 Table V summarizes the distributive mechanisms on the reserve.[2] A family is postulated which derives income from all sources. This family is not the extended family but includes only the immediate relatives. The sources of its income are indicated in the rectangles across the top. Most terms are self-explanatory. *Wages* refers to income from labour aside from the mines, e.g., work on the roads, freighting, harvesting for whites, painting a house. *Other income* includes income from trapping, fees for participating in religious ceremonials, barter, selling bones, beadwork, gifts from relatives or other Indians. The income from certain sources goes directly to the family, from other sources via the agency to the family. What the family receives may be exchanged directly for store produce or, via credit, reach the same end. What does not go in that direction goes to relatives, other Blackfoot and Indians off the reserve via the indicated distributive mechanisms.

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[128] [2] We should remember in studying this chart that the size of the connections
between the various institutions is only roughly indicative of the volume of flow
[487] between various groups. There is no adequate means of computing the volume.
One such difficulty may be seen if it be recalled that the objects exchanged consist
not only of cash but of articles varying from clothing to live-stock.

The chart itself is incomplete in many ways. It fails to show certain circular
[431] systems that are known to exist. For example, although cash is exchanged in
the store for food and clothing, some of this may re-enter the system of distribution as gifts to Indians; yet this connection between whites and the family is not shown on the table. Gifts between Indians, moreover, build up an obligation which is reciprocated through other gifts, and we have shown no connection between the rectangle labelled *relatives* and the rectangle labelled *others*. A portion of the fees extracted from the family's income by the agency may come to the family through haying or work in the threshing gang; we have shown no connection between these fees and the rectangle labelled *wages*. Such circular feature could not be represented here.

[436] Furthermore our table does not show the fact that certain commodities have value in one distribution system but not in another. A range horse is of no exchange value for whites but is of value for Indians as payment for sacred objects. Thus food, clothing, furniture, live-stock, has exchange value in certain systems only.

177 in every respect, yet he sought actively to convert others to his
faith. This was regarded as dangerous and caused considerable friction
[797] until he ceased to proselytize. No doubt other criteria of acceptable
conduct for a devotee of Indian ways can be found, but considerable
latitude of deviation seems to be tolerated, as was also the
case in buffalo days.

Let us observe finally what effect these changes have had on
177 ceremonial structure. First we see the collapse of the old structure
of age-societies. Though four of the societies still exist, their character
561 has been radically altered. The Prairie Chickens society last
575 changed hands during the early twenties, was danced a few times
at the Sun Dance camp, and then practically ceased to function.
177 Its members, who are now in their early thirties, have little interest
in Indian ways, and whenever the older men encourage them to hold
561 a dance, they maintain they are too busy. In winter time the members
575 occasionally hold a dance in Crowfoot Hall, but here the newer
dances such as the Owl Dance rather than the traditional Prairie
535 Chicken dance are preferred. The Crazy Dog society, a step higher
in the age-grade hierarchy, has shared a similar fate. Though it has
danced a few times within recent years, the dance positions were
occupied mostly by older men interested in a display rather than
the incumbents who were busy farming.

Only the Half Braves, now a society of middle-aged men, continues
the tradition of holding an annual dance at the circle camp.
This secular society, formerly for much younger men, is now made
177 up of those who have turned to the Indian style of life. There are,
however, a number of age-grades represented in its membership of
561 predominately wealthier men. Single members are recruited from
575 time to time from those who would normally belong to the alternate
age-grade, and thus the joking derision of the adjacent age-grades
can be maintained. Occasionally a society hand game is held where
this organized group plays the unorganized survivors of the adjacent
age-grades, but this is infrequent. It is possible that in a few
years the Crazy Dogs will reorganize similarly taking in some of the
at present unorganized middle-aged men of the adjacent age-grades.

177 The most dramatic change has taken place in the Horn Society.
Formerly at the top of the age-grade hierarchy, its members possessed
561 supernatural powers through the ownership of regalia. Today
575 its members are often the forty-year-olds who are just embracing
778 Indian ways. In fact vowing membership in this society may be one
of the first signs of a transition. Since the supernatural power of the

moccasins. Their bodies are painted yellow, even the hair. Some say they 561
were marked down with the finger. They did not have the red marks on 575
their faces like the leaders. They carried bows and arrows and wore eagle 796
tail-feathers on their heads. Their special functions seem to have been to [411]
serve the food at the ceremonial feast, to act as messengers or sergeants-at-
arms. On the back of their heads they wore eagle tail-feathers painted red [292]
(Fig. 2). [302]

The rank and file, or the pigeons proper, are not permitted to wear [237]
clothes, except as for the yellow pigeons. Should anyone come to the dance
tipi and refuse to go in the others would set upon him and tear his clothes off.
Their entire bodies are painted red. They carry bows and arrows, painted
red.

The four old men members enter the ceremony in regular daily dress. [302]
They carry nothing with them. As a rule, they paint their faces red. [898]
These men are taken in because of their experience in ceremonial procedure
and as one expressed it, "always to have some members who could count [887]
war deeds." They make all formal announcements, harangue the camp
when required in the interests of the pigeons, advise the members, adjust
disputes, etc. When the society sells out they tend to go with them in the
same capacity; thus they are truly old men comrades.

The four single men comrades are in this case very young boys, all the pigeons proper being unmarried men. They are taken in by their brothers or other relatives, already members, and may dance in their stead while they remain seated. These men paint and dress as the other members. Their designation is, of course, borrowed from societies of older men in which the members proper are of marriageable age.

The four drummers each has a drum in his hands. They are charged [534]
with directing the singing and during the dancing remain seated and drum
and sing. There seems to be some difference of opinion as to whether it is
proper to use drums or to beat a rawhide. Usually when singing and dancing, members keep time by beating upon their bows with an arrow. Some informants claim that this was the only kind of accompaniment used. The best informant, however, seemed to favor the use of four drums.

There was one woman attached to this organization. We were told that, "she had no particular function, but was taken in as a member and danced with the rest." This will be better understood after reading the accounts of other societies.

The dance ceremony of this society takes place out-of-doors, the members [535]
arranging themselves as indicated in the sketch, Fig. 3. The opening in
the circle is toward the east. The four yellow pigeons sit on the north side
of this opening, while the bear shirts sit facing it some fifty feet distant.

561 The two leaders sit at the west side, while toward the center, facing east, are
575 the drummers. When all are in place the leader gives a signal, the drummers
796 make four passes with the drumsticks and strike once, upon which
all in unison give the call of the pigeon. (Some of our phonograph records show this to be highly realistic.) This is repeated four times. Then the songs of their ritual are begun.

[532]
● [535]

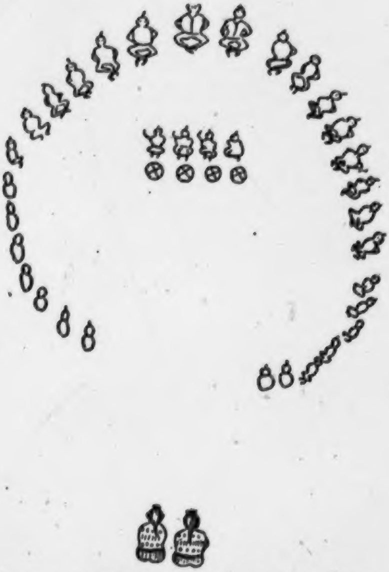

Fig. 3. Sketch showing the Position of the Pigeon Society in a Ceremony. Drawn by a Piegan.

An informant says that at the beginning of the ceremony everybody is
seated, all singing and beating time on their bows with their arrows, the two
[237] bear shirts as well. This pair, unlike their representatives in some other
societies, do not rest their bows and arrows on buffalo chips and sage grass.
[535] In the dance the bear shirts and the yellow pigeons do not dance around sunwise,
but in the opposite direction and around the other members, bunched up in the middle. It seems that the bear shirts give the signal for the danc-

ing by rising in their seats. At this, the whole organization including the 561
leaders rises and dances. 575

Another informant says that during the dance all the pigeons dance 796
around in a circle the two leaders facing them. When the leaders turn and 535
dance with their backs toward the main body, this is a signal for the dance
to end. Then they dance toward their seats and when the leaders sit
down, they follow suit.

The society has three songs, one in which everyone joins, beating time [533]
on their bows with their arrows and the drummers on the edges of the drums
with their sticks. The other two songs are dance songs.

When they sit in their places and sing, the pigeons beat time by striking
arrows on their bows. At the proper moment all, except the bear shirts,
rise and dance in a circle, each with a drawn bow, the arrow pointed downward.
The four yellow pigeons dance in the center and as the ring of dancers
threatens to close in, they threaten them and pretend to drive them back
to their seats. Then after an interval of singing the two bear shirts take a
hand. On the ground before them rest their bows. They lean forward
holding their heads out like bears. As those in the circle rise to dance, the [237]
spectators throw buffalo chips at the bear shirts, at which they raise their
heads, holding their closed fists at their cheeks and growling like bears.
This is repeated once. They rise, take up their bows and dance into the
circle, driving the dancers back, then dance outside and drive them to the
middle again. This is repeated four times in all. When food is brought in
the bear shirts growl and take it; the others wait and eat what remains.
The signal for closing the ceremonies is given by this unique pair, they discharging
their blunt arrows at the sky.

The usual time for these ceremonies is early in the morning.

Maximilian does not mention the pigeons. This may have no signifi- 561
cance, for the society is regarded as of comparatively recent origin, the latest 575
historically.[1] So far as we know, any male may enter this organization by 796
purchasing the place and regalia of another; but it is considered a youths'
order. Such purchase may occur at any time, but the tendency is for the 432
whole organization to sell in a body to a new group of younger fellows. The
individual sellers and purchasers must be paired off; hence, it is not unusual
for some members to hold over for want of a purchaser. This transfer
is a formal affair comparable to the transfer of medicine bundles. A [346]
shelter is made by combining two tipis, in which the organization assembles.
Each purchaser enters with a pipe, which he offers to individual sellers

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[1] Bear-skin, about 75 years old, says that he was a charter member of the pigeons in his [115]
eighteenth year. It was then originated by an old blind man, Ghost-boy, who dreamed it.
This would make the date about 1853. [787]

TABLE 1 (Continued)

Case No.	Indian Dance	Stick Game	Indian Societies	Indian Accent	Level of English	Church Attend.	Reading	West. Dance	Cards	Western Organizations	Visibility (A=High)
2	attend				good	reg.	A		occ.	X	C
3					good	rare	B		X		B
5	attend-	X-			good	occ.	C		occ.		C
6	attend-				good	occ.	A	X	occ.	X	D
7	attend-				exc.	occ.	A	X	rare		D
9	attend				fair	occ.	A				B+
10	X	X	X	X	fair	reg.	C	occ.	occ.		A
11	attend	X			good	occ.	C		occ.		B
13	attend-	X			fair	occ.	A	X	X	X	B-
14	X	X	X	X	fair	reg.	C	occ.			A
17					good	rare	B	occ.	occ.		B
18	attend-	X	X		good	occ.	C	?	occ.	X	A
19	X-				exc.	occ.	A	X		X	C+
21					good	occ.	A	X		X	D
25	attend-				good	reg.	A	X	occ.	X	B
26	X	X		X-	good	occ.	?		X-		B+
27	attend	X		X	fair	occ.-	D				A
28	attend-				good	occ.	A	occ.			B
29	attend-	X-			poor	rare	B				A
30					exc.	occ.	B		occ.		C-
31	attend-				good	occ.	A		occ.		C
32	attend	X-		X	fair	occ.-	B	occ.			A
34					good	reg.	A	X	occ.		C
35	X	X-	X		good	occ.	A	X	X	X	D
37	attend-			?	fair	occ.	C		occ.		A
38	attend-				good	reg.	B	X			B+
39	attend			X	fair	occ.-	C				A
42	attend-				good	occ.	B	X	X	X-	C
45	attend-				good	occ.	C		occ.		C-
46	attend-				fair	occ.	B		occ.	X-	C-
47	X	X	X	X	fair	reg.	D		X		A

[535] [525] [575] [191] [797] [535] [524] [575] 184 177 121 106

The single men comrades dress and paint like the other members. Again, 561
the society itself may take in the son of a chief or other prominent man so 575
that they may receive food and other assistance from the family. 796

The dance ceremony opens with a parade in single file around the outside
of the camp circle, sun-wise. Having completed the circuit they proceed to 561
the center and sit in a circle. The four drummers sit in the middle before 575
their pieces of rawhide. 796

When dancing they move in single file, forming a circle. While doing 535
this the four yellow mosquitoes march in single file to one side, thus with the
main body, forming two lines. At this time, there is neither singing nor
dancing. The drummers do not march with them but proceed directly
to the place they select for dancing where they seat themselves. Then the
files approach and form a circle around the drummers, the leader at the head
with two of the yellow mosquitoes on each side. The other members sit in
the circle where they wish. At the end of each song they all squat down,
with heads low, making a buzzing noise like mosquitoes. When seated they
lean forward and draw their robes over their heads. After four dances they
again circle the camp and scatter along the outside. Anyone falling in
their way will be scratched with the eagle claw. They say, "Now, I shall
get blood from you." Their rule is to do the opposite of their victims'
appeals; thus, if asked to be let off, they will scratch brutally; if told to be
severe, they touch lightly. If a man takes off his shirt and invites them to
take their fill, he must not be touched; likewise, if a woman bares her arms.
They must not invade tipis or the bounds of the camp circle.

The usual way is for the mosquitoes to sell out to the pigeons. A 561
shelter is made by combining two tipis. Some old men are invited to con- 575
duct the transfer, or selling out. This is conducted in a manner similar to 432
that for the pigeons. [346]

Most of the members are single men, but being married is no bar to
entrance. They usually marry before selling out for the simple reason that
they are of proper age.[1]

THE BRAVES. 561

575

The organization of this society is as follows:—

Leader (1)
Willow brave (1)
White braves (4)
Black braves (4)
Bear braves (4)

Braves (x)
Old men comrades (4)
Single men comrades (4)
Drummers (4)

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[1] Maximilian, 116.

they rise to dance they leave them at their seats. They carry lances, painted white and decorated with four pairs of feathers and bunches of sage grass. (Fig. 4.) The ordinary bone whistle with quill-wrapped neck cord should be added. 561 575 796

[292] [411] [237] The old men comrades wear their ordinary clothing and are without regalia of any kind. Their functions are similar to those of the preceding societies and while they have no particular costume at the time of the ceremony, they use the painting of the lay members.

[924] Single men comrades vary in number from one to four and are taken in as described in the preceding, both as substitute dancers and in order that food may be obtained.

[534] [411] [302] [237] The four black braves carry lances covered with black cloth and decorated with black feathers. Their bodies are painted black. Their costume is similar to that of the preceding. On their backs they wear a bladder or pericardium painted black and distended by air; this is called a water pail.

[237] [302] The two bear braves are similar to a pair noted in the pigeon society. They cut the front hair and paint it. The costume is also the same. Here, they wear robes with the hair on. On the head, they tie a bunch of prairie-chicken feathers. They carry bows instead of lances (Fig. 5).

[292] [411] The braves wear neither shirts nor leggings. They paint with dark red paint with black marks, as noted for the white braves. Their lances are painted red.

[533] [534] No drums are used by this society, but time is kept by beating upon one piece of rawhide. According to one informant, the drummers are "ex-members in ordinary costume."

561 575 796 535 [534] In the ceremony an open circle is formed with the four drummers in the center. The leader sits opposite the opening and facing him on the outside, the two bear braves. The white braves sit on the outside. (Fig. 6.) When at rest the braves stick their lances in the ground points down; the white braves hold theirs with points up. The leader directs the dance. He blows his whistle a certain way as a signal, then rises. All those bearing lances rise, dropping their robes. Leaning forward with the points of their lances near the ground, they dance. The step is a slow alternate lifting of the feet. The leader's position is fixed, the others dance facing the four directions. The white braves on the outside dance in with threatening lances and crowd the braves toward the center, passing entirely round and round. The black braves have black blankets which they wear during the dance, but dance as the others. Willow brave dresses like the lay members but sits next to the leader.

[237] The two bear braves sit quietly as in the pigeons until aroused by the

561 throwing of buffalo chips. They then dance into the center; holding both
575 feet together and keeping a squatting position, they hop along with drawn
796 bows, driving the dancers back to their seats.

● 535 These evolutions are given four times then the bear braves shoot into
[237] the air and all throwing their robes over their left shoulders pass single file
out of the southwest side of the camp circle, march entirely around it,
then run to the north a mile or more. When they stop, they take off their

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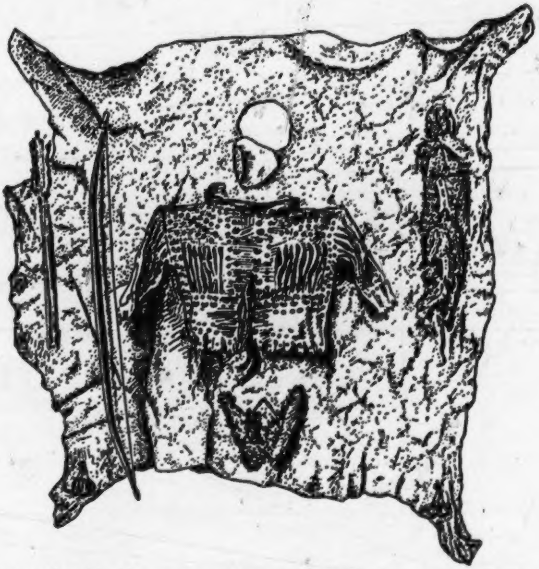

Fig. 5 (50-5581, 5578, 5576, 5577, 5732). Regalia of a Bear Brave: A Robe with a Hole; a Belt of Bearskin with a Bear Tail attached; a Shirt and Moccasins curiously Gashed and Fringed; a Bow and Four Arrows.

561 moccasins and throw them up into the air. Then they line up and march
575 back, barefoot, holding the lances up before and singing. They pass around
796 the camp circle and enter their tipi, sticking the lances up at the back.

[535] This ceremony always occurs in the open air. When they dance in
their tipi at night, the affair is social and hence, different.

[346] At times the ceremony was held in a tipi pitched inside the camp circle

18: Wissler E-5 (1903-1912) 1913
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formed by combining several covers. The members of the society did not 561
live in this tipi or stay there so far as we could learn. At other times they 575
may make a practice of regularly meeting at the tipi of a member, frequently 796
that of willow brave, where they dance and hold other ceremonies as may be [346]
desired. At the close of each ceremony they return to their own homes, however.

When food is brought out for the dance feast, it is set down by the willow brave. Then the bear braves come forward, growling, but as they are about to eat, the black braves croak like ravens. Then they retreat, but return to eat. When they have finished, the others eat. At any time the bear braves

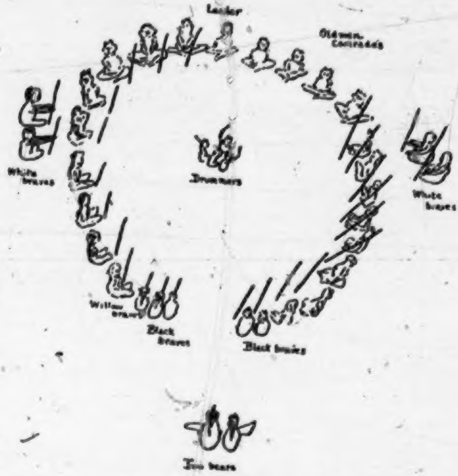

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Fig. 6. Sketch showing the Positions of the Braves in a Ceremony. Drawn by a Piegan.

may meet the returning hunters and take what they choose. They go out 561
accompanied by two braves, bearing a tipi pole, upon which the meat they 575
seize is strung. [796]

The mosquitoes usually buy into this society, though anyone may so
join. The majority are married men and probably range in age from twenty [432]
to thirty years. Grinnell considers these warriors of the first class; but on this point we have no data save that they are to be distinguished from the foregoing societies as married men. It was said that after marriage a man

561 the eyes and corners of the mouth. When at home, each keeps his cere-
575 monial bow and arrows tied up near the door of the tipi.

[796] In former times if at any time the bears saw any one coming in with meat,
they would intercept him. The bearer of the meat would dismount and
[302] stand by quietly while the bears helped themselves to the best cuts, some-
[431] times taking all. It is said that if the owner of the meat sees them in time
he may himself give them, horse, gun, meat, and all; the bears take the presents home and afterwards announce to the society that presents have been received. In the course of time the giver of these presents will receive liberal return from the various members.

561 There seems to be some kind of a taboo for the bears as to passing food
575 at a feast. Thus, it is said that if the chief or head man should have guests
264 in his tipi and there is among them one of the bears who still owns his membership, the woman must pass the food to each man and not permit it to be passed on from hand to hand as is the usual custom. She must do this because the bear is not permitted to pass food or to take any notice of a request to do so. If the presence of the bear should not be known and food be passed in the usual manner, the bear will take no notice of the dish. However, should he be asked to pass the food he will take possession of it and eat it all himself without speaking a word. So it is the duty of the hostess to note the presence of one of these bears and to act accordingly. An informant says, "These bears are always after grub. They even go to meet the hunters to take their meat." While, as indicated before, the bears have the privilege of taking meat whenever they desire it, this is never done in the absence of the owner, that is, they are not permitted to enter a vacant tipi and help themselves to what may be found there.

561 The four drummers have no particular costume but wear their blankets
575 tied around their waists hanging down so as to leave their arms free. In
796 the procession they are in the rear. In this procession the members form in
●535 line by two's, the leader at the head. They dance entirely around the camp.
[292] Every now and then the dancers turn and face the drummers at the rear,
dancing backward and forward. As they move about the camp they may stop and dance in front of certain tipis. Here the usual procedure is to form a circle with one of the bears on each side of the "door." (Fig. 9.) The drummers always sit at the head, the leader next to them on the north. The mounted men are next in order, one on each side.

There are no women attached to the society as in those previously mentioned, but as the members are all supposed to be married men it is expected that their wives appear at the formal ceremonies to assist in the singing. They have no particular costume or painting, each one following her own taste. An informant recalls one case in which a man made a vow that when married his wife should dance in his place during the ceremonies of the

18: Wissler E-5 (1903-1912) 1913
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all-brave-dogs. This is the only case known in which such substitution 561
was offered or in which the woman became a member of the same standing 575
as the single men comrades. When the society is marching around the 796
camp the women may follow in the rear and may sit behind their husbands 535●
during other parts of the ceremony. It seems, however, that a woman may

[532]

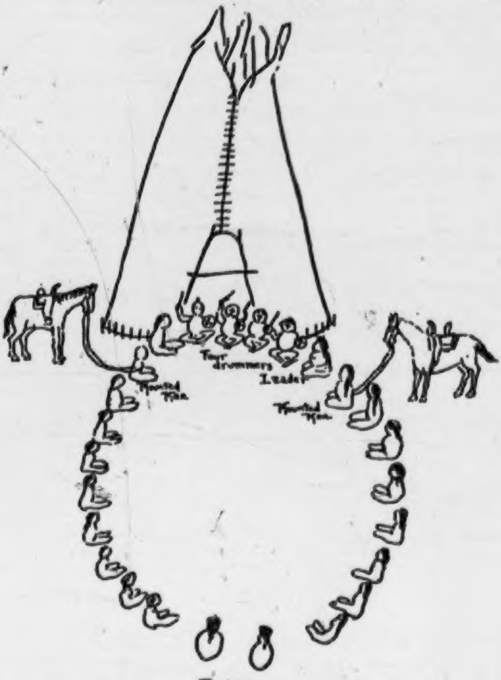

Fig. 9. Sketch showing the Formation of the All-brave-dogs before the Tipi of a Head Man. Drawn by a Piegan.

rise and dance with her husband at certain parts of the ceremony, if she so desires, and may even take his rattle in her hand and perform evolutions with it. This seems quite likely, since similar practices are found in the rituals of various medicine bundles (Volume 7).

575 The owner of the tipi in which the society usually meets, who is also
561 one of the members, keeps a pipe and tobacco ready for use in the ceremonies.
[276] There is no special form of pipe, neither are there any peculiar
[554] smoking customs pertaining to this society. This individual does not buy
his place by the regular transfer nor is he recognized as having any particular
official status. Nevertheless, it is said that no matter where the
ceremony is performed, this individual is expected to provide the pipe and
care for it.

The lay members in this society are spoken of as the all-brave-dogs and
are limited to twenty individuals. Some informants, however, deny that
[424] there was any special number. Later on it will be shown that each lay
[432] member purchased a particular rattle and since the rattles were, of course,
of a definite number, the membership was limited thereby. The lay members
[292] have no costume of any kind, but carry their blankets over their left
[237] arms and their rattles in their right hands. On the back of the head each
wears a feather.

[534] An interesting point is that the face painting is determined by the painting
upon the rattle as shown in Fig. 10. The rattles vary greatly in their
[531] painting. Each individual therefore, paints his face according to the
[302] painting upon the rattle he owns. No one now living recalls any symbolic
significance for the painting on the rattles other than that it furnishes the
copy for face painting. There is no special myth accounting for their origin.
[796] When the paint rubs off or it becomes necessary to repaint the rattle, the
former owner of it must be called upon to perform this service. He will
count war deeds and perform other ceremonies after which he paints the
[787] rattle. For this he must receive liberal fees. It was said that the person
who first "dreamed the society" directed that the rattles be painted in this
way.

[887] The old men comrades are expected to give advice in the conduct of the
various ceremonies, one of whom is expected to act as a herald and to ride
[203] about the camps calling the society together whenever a meeting is desired.
[534] These men have no particular costume, but each has a rattle, and may wear
a feather at the back of his head.

[292] The single men comrades are required to perform certain services such
[237] as gathering food and receiving presents. Each has a rattle according to
which he paints and otherwise dresses according to his taste. The society
[556] usually elects the sons of prominent families, since they not only have fine
costumes, but since their relatives are apt to make liberal presents to the
society.

[796] A tipi for the society's ceremonies is set up inside the camp circle. This
[535] is usually the tipi of one of the bear-all-brave-dogs, though other members

could be chosen for this service. Here the society meets. The formal 561
dance is out-of-doors where the men sit in a circle (Fig. 9). 575

When they dance, they rise in their places. The mounted men ride 796
around, forcing the dancers to the center. Then they pretend to ride them 535
down, upon which dancers who have dismounted enemies, seize them by the feet and gently unhorse them. Then the two riders join in the dance. This is done but once.

They seem to have some ceremonies in their tipi. They have a number 561
of songs. In one they say, "It is bad to live to be an old man." The latter 575
means that to die in battle is preferred. At the end of each song, they shake 796
their rattles above their heads and shout. Four drums are used. 533
[539]

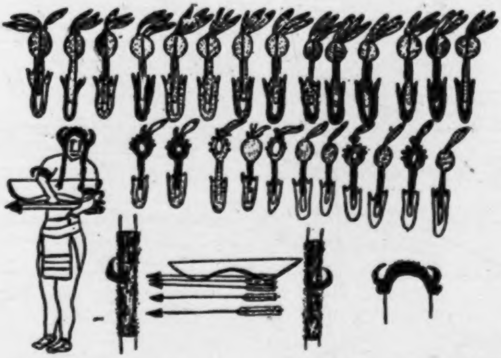

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Fig. 10. Sketch showing the Regalia of the All-brave-dogs: the Twenty-five Types of Rattles and the Equipment of a Bear. The original is in colors: blue (vertical lines), green (right oblique), red (left oblique), and black. Drawn by Hairy-coat.

They are not credited with pranks, but after a dance may go about the 561
camps and dance before tipis until the owners give them food or other 575
presents. To refuse or to delay such bequests would be unwise. Yet [431]
they do not maltreat those they meet, and offer no violence except when on regular guard duty.

The members usually buy in from the braves. Since all the rattles are 561
supposed to be different, the transfer really consists of the purchase of a 575
particular rattle which is regarded as a ceremonial object or bundle as de- 432
scribed in Vol. 7. While it is usual for the entire society to sell out at the 424
same time, our informants state that nevertheless a rattle may be purchased [778]

Drums are used, but no whistles. 561

The faces of the women members are painted like those of the men. 575

The formal ceremonies were usually held early in the morning, "Because 796
the buffalo get up early in the morning and go down to drink." Out-of-doors 535●
they sit in a circle, each man's wife, or corresponding woman member, sits [534]
directly behind him. The men dance in pairs, holding hands with the free [825]
hand on the hip. (Fig. 12.) All the pairs face the same way, except the
leaders. The latter always keep in the reverse direction. The dancing is

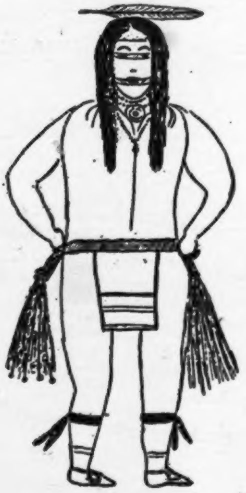

Fig. 11.

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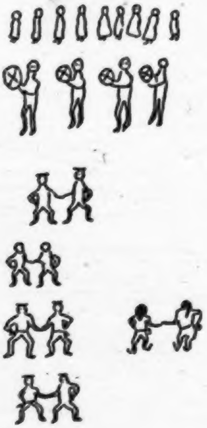

Fig. 12.

Fig. 11. Sketch showing the Costume of a Front-tail.
Fig. 12. Order of Dancing for the Front-tails. Drawn by Big-brave.

said to be in imitation of the buffalo. The four drummers come behind 561
with the women, who assist in the singing. After a dance, they rest and 575
smoke; this is repeated four times. When they are about to begin, the 796
drummers strike four times and at each all shout, "Ho-o-o-o!" Before 535
each rest there is one shout. It will be noted that the members carry
nothing in their hands.

The transfer of membership is well described in Mr. Duvall's notes 561
obtained from Big-brave:— 575
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All the new members went through the same actions as Big-brave and each 561
transferrer related four war deeds before fastening the trappings upon the new member.
Big-brave paid a horse and some blankets as a fee for buying into this society. 575

When Big-brave and all the other new members were dressed and painted and 796
had stepped over the digging-stick and the dogs, they all stood up in their places with 432
their wives and mothers or women partners. The drummers struck their drums
once; all shouted, and then the drums were again struck. After the fourth time [534]
the members sang and danced in their places inside of the tipi. At first they danced [535]
facing the center, then facing the wall, then the center, and then the back. Each new member was given a drink of water by the old members' wives, the new members paying for their drinks with blankets, guns, or a horse. After this they all sat outside of the tipi in a circle and danced as before. After the dance, all returned to their homes.

Big-brave says that that evening the one who transferred to him, came to his [264]
tipi and a smudge was made. As Big-brave was to eat, the transferrer took a small piece of the meat, spat four times on it and after making four passes to the smudge with the meat, placed it in Big-brave's mouth, thus giving him the privilege of eating his food.

The next day all the new members and some of the transferrers went out on a [224]
hunt. When they had killed a buffalo, the transferrer showed them how the backbone was broken and the buffalo tail cut off. Thus they were granted the privilege [424]
of cutting off the buffalo tail or butchering and cutting the backbone in two when they wished to do so. This completed the transfer ceremony.

During the dances and when they are seated in a circle outside the tipi, their wives sit at their backs. During the butchering ceremony the new members had to pay a fee, which consisted usually of arrows or other small articles.

In passing, it may be said that the detailed features of this transfer are common to many serious ceremonies of this kind, a discussion of which will be found in Vol. 7.

We have recorded the origin myths for this society. A version will be 561
found in Vol. 2, 112. In one not published we find the same story with 575
some variation. It opens as follows:— 539

There was once a young single man who always carried a stick around with him, like a gun rod. On the end of this stick was a small leather cross which was called the butterfly. One day, when the buffalo went over the drive and were milling around in the enclosure, the young man happened to be standing by and poked his stick under the tail of a buffalo cow. When he drew his stick out, he saw that the leather cross had come off. The cow jumped over the fence and ran away.

Otherwise, the narrative is similar to the version cited. Our informants 561
have a conviction that the ceremony was originated by an Assiniboine who
saw buffalo dancing. They recalled that some visiting Assiniboine once 575
marched about their camp, singing the front-tail songs to the surprise of all. 173

THE RAVEN-BEARERS.

561 575 The organization consists of:—

- Leader (1)
- Assistant leader (1)
- Black-raven-bearers (1)
- Raven-bearers (40 to 100)
- Pipe keeper (1)
- Drummers (4)

561 575 796 [292] [237] [531] [302] [532] The leader carries a long red stick, trimmed with a strip of red cloth, to which feathers are fastened. His head is thrust through a slit in the back of a coyote skin. The head of the coyote is still attached. For a headdress he wears a single tail-feather. His face bears the coyote painting (p. 398).A There is no special costume, he usually wears his best clothes. According to one informant the leader is said to have worn about his neck the skin of a raven. One was collected on the Blood Reserve (Fig. 13). The wings have been decorated with strips of porcupine quill work and from the beak hangs a strip of red flannel, probably to represent the tongue. We were also given a peculiar necklace made of imitation bear's claws carved from buffalo horn. This was also stated to have been worn by the leader. Other informants claim that the bird was worn only by the black-raven. According to White-man, the leader wore a coyote skin around the neck with pendant feathers in bunches, consisting of six eagle feathers and one crow feather each. The end of the crow feather was cut square. A rattle was also carried by the leader.

[531] [302] The assistant leader carried a staff similar to that borne by members, except that it was entirely red. Otherwise his costume was similar to that of the leader, except that in painting he wore a red band across the eyes and one across the mouth.

[531] [237] [302] The black-raven-bearer has a staff trimmed with black cloth, but fringed with human hair. According to most informants he paints his face over with red (though some maintain blue), marking down with the tips of the fingers and dotting the forehead and cheeks with white spots to represent the raven's excrement.

[531] [302] The raven-bearers carry sticks trimmed with alternating pieces of black and red cloth (Fig. 14), bearing feathers and bells.[1] They paint their faces red with a pair of small white spots on the forehead, cheeks, and chin.

[535] For the ceremony they sit in a circle with their sticks on end. As songs are sung, they shake them to sound the bells. When dancing they carry their robes on their left arms and hold their sticks up in front, inclined forward. The drummers stand, as for the front-tails.

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[1] Maximilian, German ed., 578, gives a drawing of this emblem.

A. [See Category 116, p. 398--Analyst]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 395]

THE DOGS.

The organization is as follows:— 561 575

The Black-Dog (1)
Assistant Leader (1)
The Black-dancers (2)
The Dogs (40)
Old men comrades (2)
Single men comrades (3–4)
Pipe keeper (1)

The leader or black-dog wears a long black cloth sash with trailing hair 561
fringes that reach to the ground (Fig. 14). He wears a bonnet covered 575
with owl feathers and bearing an appendage about four fingers wide, made 796
from smoky tipi covers and lined with red cloth. It is decorated here and [292]
there with feathers.

According to Brocky, an informant, there is some confusion among the [237]
Piegan as to the regalia for the leader of this organization. According to [531]
him there is an assistant leader who wears the bonnet covered with owl
feathers instead of the leader. There is also a difference of opinion as to [184]
whether there was an assistant leader, some maintaining that the society
had but one leader, known as the black-dog.

The dogs each wear a long sash similar to that of the leader, except that [292]
it is lined with alternating sections of red and black cloth and has feathers [531]
instead of the hair fringes. They also wear bonnets similar to those described above (Fig. 15). They may, if they choose, wear buckskin suits [237]
or any other costume. They carry rattles or sticks about two feet long, [534]
fringed with deer hoofs and with feathers on the end (Fig. 16). The
dance of this society is performed out-of-doors. They sit in a circle while 561
the black-dog sits some distance apart. The tail of his sash is picketed to 575
the ground by an arrow. The ritual requires that he remain seated until 796
the arrow is withdrawn. As soon as he is released, he joins the circle and the 535
dance begins. It seems to have been the custom to dance in front of a tipi, [431]
the owner of which was required to release the picketed dancer. His doing
this, however, obligated him to make a gift of a horse. In this way the
society passed about the camp circle, collecting gifts until they were satisfied.
According to some informants, when the dance begins, the leader goes about
the circle and seizing the sashes of the members pulls them to their feet.

Members of this society also have the privilege of taking food whenever they choose. They go about among the tipis, imitating dogs and taking whatever they wish.

The members of the raven-bearers usually buy into the dogs, although 561
as in other cases a man may join at any time. In former times in the transfer ceremony, it is said, the black-dog remained dancing in his place until he 575 796
432
[173]

561 of the tail. The whole skin was liberally daubed with the "seventh paint."
575 Brass buttons formed the eyes of the fox. This leader also carried a bow
796 and arrows, thoroughly coated with the same red pigment. His body was
[292] also painted red, a blue band around each wrist and a band of blue around
the face, but of a different form from that used by the horns.

[237] There was a second, or associate leader, wearing a similar headdress and
[531] bearing a bow. His person and regalia were, however, painted over with
[302] yellow with corresponding marks in red. He is called the yellow fox.

Next in rank were two mounted men, spoken of as the single men comrades.
[411] They carried hooked lances about ten feet long, wrapped for almost
[237] their entire length with otterskin. At four equally spaced places they had
wrappings of goose skin with a pair of eagle feathers. The curved portion
[531] of the lance is formed by a twig, bowed and held by a sinew cord. To the
end of this bow are fastened two eagle feathers (Fig. 14).[A] The butt of
the lance is sharpened for planting in the ground. These men wore weasel
skins around the heels of their moccasins. One informant states that one
of the pair rode a black horse.

[411] Of the next order, was one man bearing a hooked lance of much greater
length than the others and wrapped with swan skin, having four places
[237] covered with otterskin and bearing feathers as just described. This was
[531] called the white lance.

[411] The lay members carried curved lances, but these were not wrapped.
They, however, bore feathers as just described. One informant claims
[237] that a few of these lances were painted white. Each member had a small
[531] pipe painted red (p. 413).[B] They could paint in blue, red, or yellow, but
[276] must each use the same mark around the face. They were required to be
fully clothed in all ceremonies, but could wear any costume at hand. Their
[302] moccasins were, however, without strings and always contained a sprig of
[292] sage.

[276] According to one informant the society had three large ceremonial pipes,
or perhaps three large pipes in contrast to the small ones used by other
[124] members; but we have never heard of special ceremonial pipes for this
society, as for the catchers.

[346] For the ceremonies a shelter was made by setting up a circle of tripods
supporting horizontal tipi poles. Tipi covers were then stretched round the
sides. When dancing in public they formed a three quarter circle with the
opening toward the rising sun. Inside near the rear were four drummers.
The two horsemen sat one on each side of the opening in the line. The
● [535] lances were planted in the ground before their various owners. The public
ceremony was opened by the drummers, who made four feints with their
sticks, then struck the drums and gave the characteristic yell, upon which

A. [See Category 116, p. 394--Analyst]
B. [See Category 116--Analyst]

the songs began and the members rose to dance. There seems to have been 561
no special form of dance, but at times they crowded into a mass, at others 575
formed in files and again in half circles. They always held their lances at a 796
forward angle. The rule was to dance at various intervals as the camp was
circled. The two riders mounted and crossed back and forth in front of the 535
leaders to reverse them (p. 412).[A] When the procession again reached the
starting point the two riders dismounted and joined in the final dance.

The following account of this public ceremony is from McClintock:—

> When the kit-foxes gave a dance, they opened up two large lodges and made [346]
> them into one. For four days and four nights they sat inside, painting and dressing
> themselves, singing and making ready for the dance, only appearing at night, outside
> of the dance lodge. On the fifth day they marched through the camp. Their chief [272]
> wore the fox-skin, with the head made into the form of a hood. The nose was in
> front, the ears on the top and the skin, with bells fastened to the tail, hung down his [237]
> back. The face of the leader was painted green, to look as frightful as possible and [302]
> inspire the spectators with awe. The second in rank, called the White-circle-man,
> carried a spear, with one end bent into a circle. It had bells attached, and was [411]
> covered with white swan's down and white plumes. The third held a spear of the
> same shape, covered with white feathers, but fringed with black and red plumes. [531]
> The rest of the members carried pointed spears, covered with otter skins ornamented with feathers and bells. The kit-foxes all painted their faces. They wore, for garters around their legs, wide bands of otter skins, with bells attached, and an eagle feather, decorated with red, green and yellow, in their back hair. White weasel-skins were also attached to either end of this feather, while a strip of otter skin was suspended from its centre. When they marched through the camp they formed in the shape of a fox head. The chief went first standing for the nose. Behind him were the second and third men for the eyes, and then came the rest of the society in a group, all together representing a fox head. The two second-men, as the eyes, watched the chief, who was the nose, or leader, and acted just as he directed, the rest following after. When they were ready to dance, they sat in lines. In the first line were the regular members. If there were men withdrawing from the society, or giving their spears to new candidates, they sat in the second line, while the wives of the members sat behind. As soon as the drum began, the chief started the dance. The two circle men with the white spears followed. After them came the other
> members, with otter spears. They danced in pairs, — the same way that kit-foxes [825]
> run together. They gave short regular jumps with their feet close together, imitating the movements of a fox, barking and moving about, first in one direction, and then in another, just as a fox does. The two second-men (eyes) danced between the two lines, barking and swinging their spears. They did not move in straight lines, because the fox never goes straight. His tail always seems to guide him. When the white-circle men shouted, 'That is enough,' the dance ceased and they all seated themselves. After a short rest the dance was continued.[1]

Some of the songs run: "Fox says, four times I am going to run. Days [539]
are my medicine; they are powerful. Nights are my medicine; they are
powerful."

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[1] McClintock, 446–447.

A.[See Category 116--Analyst]

The two leaders carry bows and arrows painted red. These arrows seem 561
to have been regarded as medicine since it was believed they never missed 575
their mark. They were therefore a very important war medicine. [411]

The two leaders paint the face all over with dark red paint and draw a
black mark from the forehead down across the nose and a black circle entirely [778]
around the face. They wear a plain buckskin suit, without weasel-tails or [302]
hair fringes, but painted all over with red paint. One informant claims that [292]
the leaders painted their faces in a different manner, the forehead, sides, and
chin being red with two pairs of oblique lines extending in toward the nose. [531]

The two pipe men were in reality the keepers of medicine-pipes. Though [124]
the society has long ceased to exist, the pipes are still cared for and their
rituals occasionally demonstrated. Wolf-tail and Split-ears are the present 796
owners of these pipes. The transfer ceremony for them is similar to that 432
of other medicine-pipes although they are known as catcher's pipes. The 276
pipes themselves are different and their rituals contain some of the regular 778
medicine-pipe songs. Among the other songs are those of the catchers
society and the iniskim (buffalo rock). [561]

The pipe ceremony was described as follows:— [575]

> First a smudge is made, the owner holding up some sweetgrass above his head and
> singing. The words of the song are, "That which is above, it is powerful." Then [539]
> he brings the sweetgrass down and lays it on the fire, at the same time the song runs,
> "This, the earth, it is powerful." After the smudge is made the owner of the pipe [539]
> and his wife both hold their hands in the smoke and then over the pipe bundle, then
> make four passes and untie the strings. The buffalo rocks are then taken out and
> placed in a row in front of the open pipe bundle. The owner takes up the pipe,
> holding it in his arms as if it were a baby. At this time they sing the iniskim songs, [539]
> the words of which are: "A hundred buffalo I have fallen (caused to go over the
> drive)." All this time the man is holding the pipe in his arms and praying to it.
> Then he lays the pipe down and has his face painted with a red and black circle [302]
> around it and a black streak across the forehead, nose, and chin. Then they sing
> the dance songs of the catchers. The owner gets up with the pipe and dances, [535] ●
> everybody in the tipi being required to dance with him. All stand in their places and
> dance, first to the southeast, then face the north, then the southeast, and then the
> north. Then the man hands the pipe to the one next him and this man dances twice
> towards the south and twice towards the north, while all the others dance in turn as
> he does. Then this man turns the pipe over to the next person and all dance as before,
> until the pipe has passed entirely around the circle, every man, woman, and child
> present being required to dance with it. Four drums are used and the dancers shout [534]
> and make all the noise they can. When all have danced with the pipe, it is handed
> back to the owner and he lays it down. This closes the ceremony and the bundle is
> tied up.

The purchaser of the catchers pipe makes the sweat house for the owner and on entering with him, presents him with a pipe of tobacco with a formal

Our chief specific information was obtained from two informants whose 561
narrative we give in substance. 575

According to Red-plume the bull society originated in a dream: — [173]

A man once dreamed that he was invited to a ceremony. He felt that the persons dancing there were transformed buffalo bulls. One of them said to him, "We invited you here to show how to do this ceremony. We shall give (transfer) it to you." So the dreamer watched and noted all. Then he went home. A long time after this dream he called the people together and told them the story. He asked them to help him start the society. They agreed and so the bull society began.

The leader of the society wore a straight-up bonnet with a tail also bearing feathers. 561
The latter are spoken of as "boss ribs."[1] This seems to be the same general 575
type as used by the horn society.

Two members were known as the scabby bulls. They wore headdresses made 796
from the horns and hairy skin of the buffalo; also robes with the hairy side out. Their [292]
position in the dance was at the end of the line, or something like the bears in the
brave society. [237]

There were two young unmarried men members. They wore caps of otterskin with a few erect eagle tail-feathers behind and before.

The lay members seem to have been of two classes; those wearing straight-up bonnets and those wearing horn bonnets.

In the dance they formed two abreast, the leader at the head and the scabby 561
bulls at the rear. The two young members occupied outlying positions on the 575
flanks. They sat in this position in the open before they danced. The four drummers
were stationed some distance in the rear. Their first formation was always 796
some distance outside of the camp circle. After they had lined up, they waited until 535●
a horseman performed a curious ceremony.[2] As he set out he carried some robes
and other valuable property. He acted as if the bull society were real buffalo, being
careful to keep away from the wind until he had the line between him and the camp.
Then he dismounted and kindled a fire with buffalo chips. All this time the men in [372]
line were on their knees making dancing motions with their bodies, accompanied by the drummers and singers. As soon as the smoke rose, the men in the line turned to look at it. The rider mounted, shouted, and rode toward them. At this, the bulls started forward on a trot, while the musicians followed, singing and drumming. The horseman rode along on the flank. When he shouted, all stopped and looked at him. Then he threw down one of the presents he carried and shouted as before. At this the line started on again. This was done four times.

Then the rider drove them to a watering place. As the dancers neared the water, he dismounted and standing to one side of the line took up four stones. Then he counted four war deeds and gave a horse to some one (not a member). Then he threw a stone into the water at which the bulls ran back. The bulls again approached and were again frightened. At the fifth attempt, they drank.

After this they proceeded to the camp circle where they formed in a circle and danced like the other societies.

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[1] Vol. 7, 114.

[2] Curtis, Vol. 6, 28, says this was a young man. Our informant says he must be a very [114]
distinguished man and wealthy and not likely to be young.

561 575 [787] The bull society became extinct because of a curious belief. The originator warned them that if a dancer fell, he would soon die. It so happened once that two dancers fell and died very soon thereafter. So the people ruled to omit the ceremonies.

[173] All the war-bonnet bundles used now, came from the bull society and when transferring them, the bull songs are rendered.

An old man named Boy says his father saw the bulls dance and handed down an account of them, as follows:—

561 575 292 531 237 796 [411] They were the most ancient society. One of the leaders wore a robe hair side out and a headdress made from the skin of a buffalo's head, with the horns polished. The left horn was painted blue with a blue plume at the tip. The right horn was painted white. The other leader wore a straight-up feather bonnet without a tail. Weasel fringes hung from the sides. On the front was an arrow, about the length of the forearm. This was fastened crosswise and with weasel fringes at each end of the feathering. The arrow, the bonnet, and feathers were well daubed with red paint. As to the arrow, it is said that once in a fight with the Crow Indians the leader of the bulls was wounded by an arrow so he symbolically painted the headdress red (blood color) and tied an arrow upon it. He also wore a robe hair side out.[1]

● [535] The dance formation for the society was two abreast. The two leaders were in the front rank, but just back of them was a single individual. He wore a straight-up feather bonnet painted red but without the arrow. On the left side of the bonnet band was a brass disc. Behind this man ranged the members two by two. At the rear sat a lone man known as a scabby bull. He wore a robe minus the hair in patches as the name indicates. On his head was the entire skin of an otter, forming a band with the head and tail behind. At the front and back are fans of eagle tail-feathers. Weasel tail fringes hang down at the sides and the back. The band of otterskin is about six fingers wide. On the left side is a brass disc about four inches in diameter mounted on a larger disc of rawhide with fringes of weasel fur. The edges of the rawhide disc are beaded.

The members wore robes with the hair side out and straight-up bonnets with tail pieces and erect feathers. These are called "boss rib" bonnets.

561 575 796 535 When dancing they snorted like buffalo, turning their heads from side to side, but keeping in line. They also pretended to hook each other. Four drummers were placed at the rear. On one flank was a rider supposed to be driving the buffalo to the pound or to water. Now and then he shouted and dropped a blanket, four in all. These represented the piles of rock forming the lines to a drive.[2]

[411] The things thrown down were left for the poor and aged who collected them. At the start the dancers moved slowly, then on a trot, and finally on a gallop like a herd of buffalo when pursued. The rider drove them to a watering place, but threw a stone in to scare them back as they pretended to drink. At last he fired a gun and threw it away for the poor. This ended the dance.

At other times, the musicians built fires of buffalo dung. When the bulls smelled the smoke they danced off in another direction. Again, the society sat in a circle and danced like the braves.

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[114] [1] Curtis, Vol. 6, 28, says a pointless arrow was worn but our informant is positive that the arrow had a metal point, in short, a real arrow.

[2] Vol. 5, 35.

All the war-bonnets we now have came from the bulls and in transferring the same 561
the songs of this society are sung. 575

The importance of this society may justify the full presentation of still [173]
another account by Big-brave:—

When Big-brave's father was quite a young man he saw the bull society. The 561
following is his account of it as told by Big-brave.

One morning the people moved their camp a short distance away, only the mem- 575
bers of the bull society remaining behind. When the camp was pitched an old man 796
called out, saying that someone must ride back and drive the bulls to the camps and
to the water. One of the chief warriors taking some blankets with him rode back on
a fine pinto horse to drive in the bulls.

The bulls all wore buffalo robes with the hair side out and painted with white 561
earth in spots to represent mud. Many wore horn bonnets while some wore buffalo 575
head wool bonnets which had small feathers fastened to them. One of the leaders 796
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531
237
[532]
wore an otterskin cap with its edges decorated with bands of blue seed beads, while
at four sides were quill-wrapped feathers decorated with bits of weasel tails at their
tips. The width of the cap was two hands. Four pieces of some fungus growth
which is found on trees in the north were attached to this cap. The other leader wore [411]
a straight-up war-bonnet similar to those made nowadays with weasel tail fringe and
feathers, but with an arrow about the length of the forearm placed horizontally
across the front. It is called "the bonnet which was struck with an arrow" and
after the bull society was discontinued was used a great deal in war.

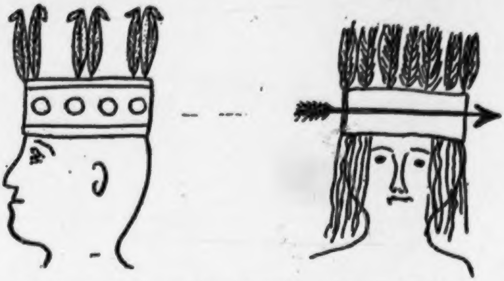

Fig. 17. Headdresses worn in the Bull Society. Drawn by Big-brave.

Two of the members were known as the scabby bulls. They wore robes that were either poorly dressed or with the hair partly worn off to represent scabby bulls. They usually followed behind the others.

When the man riding the pinto horse approached the place where the bulls were, 561
he made a fire a short distance from them on the leeward side. He started the 575
fire with a flint and steel. As soon as the smoke reached the bulls, they all looked 796
in the direction of the fire, the rider mounted his horse, shouted four times and the 535 ●
bulls rose shaking themselves and pretending to hook one another. Finally, they
[372]

561 575 796 started off slowly, repeatedly looking back at the rider while their wives brought up the rear. Four men drummed and sang for them as they marched in the direction of the camp. Some of the songs ran as follows: — "The ground is our medicine; it is powerful. The wind is our medicine. Man, I want to hook."

535 The messenger rode alongside the bulls and dropped a blanket in their path to head them off. These blankets were picked up by others who followed behind.

When they came near the camp the bulls were driven toward a lake and then another man was asked to splash the water for the bulls as they drank. The man who splashed the water was a chief. He took four buffalo dungs and counted four war deeds. While he counted, some of his kin threw down near him blankets and other valuables to honor him. These things were taken by the bystanders.

As the bulls began to drink he threw a buffalo chip into the water. This frightened the bulls and they turned back. Again, he threw in a buffalo chip and again the bulls turned back. This was repeated four times and then the bulls drank, ending their march to the water.

[787] During this march one of the scabby bulls fell. Not long after this he was picking berries with some women when he was attacked by the enemy and killed. It is said to be bad luck for one of the members to fall during the march or dance.

[173] Big-brave said that they usually dance after being watered but that his father did not see them dance. All the war-bonnets used nowadays are said to come from the bull society.

561 575 [114] While these accounts do not agree in all their details, they are in general accord. Bearing in mind that the last member of this society died many years ago, we are fortunate in receiving even these fragments. Curtis[1] denies that the bulls were a part of the regular series, but our informants were positive that they were. Since among neighboring tribes the bull society was one of the series and usually of the highest rank, we accept these statements as correct. We have also the testimony of Maximilian,[2] Grinnell, and McClintock in our favor.

In the account of the horns we noted Running-wolf's theory that the society had assimilated parts of the bull ritual. It will be noted that the headgear credited to the bulls is very much like some horn society regalia in contrast to that of the kit-fox.

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[1] Curtis, 6, 28.

[2] Stomick (die Bisonstiere, les gros boeufs). Sie bilden eigentlich den ersten, d. h. ausgezeichnetsten aller Vereine, und sind die ersten im Range. In der Hand tragen sie ein Medecine-Zeichen mit Bisonhufen behangen. Wenn sie bei ihrem, besonderen Gesange tanzen, so rasseln sie mit jenen Hufen. Um die Polizei zu handhaben sind sie zu alt; denn sie sind durch alle Vereine hindurch gegangen und man betrachtet sie als gleichsam im Ruhestande. In gewisser Art sind sie von dem Vereine der thätigen und angesehenen Soldaten schon wieder hinabgestiegen. Bei ihrem Medecine-Tanze tragen sie auf dem Kopfe eine Mütze von den langen Stirnhaaren und der Mähne des Bisonstiers, welche lang herabhängen. (Maximilian, German edition, 578-579.)A

A. [See p. 408-A for translation--Analyst]

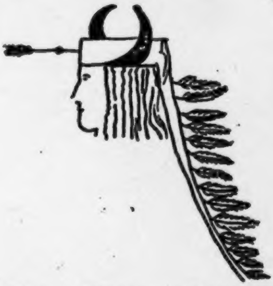
561 secured, Fig. 21.[A] It is of the head band type with a fringe of weasel tails.) Each
575 of these men carries a small bulb rattle with large wrist guard and streamers of ribbon
292 at the end. Their clothing is of no fixed form, but should be elegant.

Of lower position is a single man wearing a cap made of swan skin who also can
237 dress up to his means. His distinctive badge is a staff, or lance, about seven feet
531 long, painted yellow and sharpened at one end. To it is strung a strip of flannel in
796 sections of black and white. In the ceremonies this lance is planted in front of its
[533] bearer and is spoken of as the "mighty lance."

There are two mounted men, one on a black horse, the other on a white one.
[411] They are spoken of as the "ones who ride back and forth." The one on the black
horse wears a black suit and uses a black saddle. His face is painted red and he ties
[302] four owl tail feathers in his hair. The one on the white horse wears a weasel-tail suit and paints the face red. Sometimes he wears a white hat. Both men carry hooked lances about eight feet long. The one on the black horse carries an otter-wrapped lance with occasional bands of swan skin, while the rider of the white horse carries one wrapped with white swan skin with occasional trimmings of otter. Four eagle tail-feathers are strung on each.

One of the lay members carries the entire skin of a running fisher, stuffed and with brass buttons for eyes. The other members carry hooked lances also wrapped with otter fur and trimmed with swan skin.

[411]



[532] ← Fig. 20. A Headdress used by the Horn Society. Drawn by an Informant.

Four drums are used in the public dances which occur in the day time, in the open air about the center of the camp circle. The members sit in a three quarter
561 circle with the opening toward the east. At each end of the crescent is set up one
575 of the lances borne by the mounted pair. These are spoken of as the white and black
hooked lance respectively. The two leaders sit at the middle, or west part of the
796 circle, and the two rattle bearers to their left. The so-called "mighty-lance" is set
535 up inside in front of the leaders. Those of the members are planted in front of their respective seats. The wives of the various members sit just behind, thus forming a second circle. The men rise and dance, holding their lances forward, dancing around in a circle to their right while the two rattle bearers move to the left. Though they keep moving in the same direction they face now to the rear, now to the front. The drummers keep their places in the center. The women remain seated also. The two horsemen do not use horses here. Also each member is free to paint as he elects. The public is permitted to gather and look on.

561 The transfer, or ceremony proper, is a secret affair. First an enclosure is made by
575 setting up tipi poles and stretching over them enough tipi covers to form a screen.
The old members are now to sell out entire and in secret elect their successors. A
796 party then makes a round of the camp bringing in by force the men chosen, also their
432 wives.[1] As some of those chosen succeed in eluding their ceremonial captors, the
[346] hunt continues until the required number is secured.

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[1] For the forced transfer see Vol. 7, 156.

A. [See Category 116. p. 414--Analyst]

561 575 The leader of this society has the say as to when the camp circle shall be formed and where. He pitches his tipi within the circle.

561 575 796 When dancing, the lances are held out in front almost vertical. The drummers sit in the center. The members dance around them sun-wise, except those with the straight-up bonnets, each bearing a rattle. The latter go in the reverse direction. The dance is closed by the leader shaking a robe as if driving buffalo.

535 Mr. Duvall writes, "Near the close of the dance the man wearing the bonnet with the arrow dances in the lead while all the other members follow him. He attempts to break through the lines of the spectators who wave him back with blankets and robes and shout. The dancers seat themselves and then go through the same movements as before, trying to break through the crowd, etc. At the fourth attempt the spectators allow the dancers to pass, ending the dance."

[782] When the unwrapped sticks are offered at the sun dance a square rawhide bag is tied on containing the paint and moccasins used in the ceremony.

561 575 [532] [784] A curious rule is that when a man sells his membership, he must not meet the purchasers, they being as taboo as mother-in-law and son-in-law. Once when visiting the Blood there was great confusion in the writer's tent over the unexpected entrance of a new horn member. Like the mother-in-law taboo, this can be removed by liberal gifts in a special manner.

[606] [431] [754] The belief is strong that horn members have power of life and death over all outsiders. A short magic formula is known to them with which the result can be had.

561 575 173 Running-wolf, a very able Blood Indian, is authority for the statement that after the bull society became extinct the horns took over many of their rites. The headdress of the horn leader is said to have been worn by the bulls. His very aged mother remembered seeing the bull dance. He called attention to the large part buffalo conceptions seem to play in the ceremonies and origin myths, whereas the kit-fox of the Piegan has a different mythical origin. One of our Piegan informants was positive that the buffalo did not figure in the kit-fox ritual in any manner whatsoever. It will be noted that this theory of Running-wolf is consistent with our accounts of the kit-fox. On the whole, we believe this to be the most probable explanation of the [554] differences between the horns and the kit-fox. In a way, this would also account for the unusual prestige now enjoyed by this organization.

upon the staff for the prairie-chickens (Fig. 24). Along the staff is a fringe 561
of buckskin and a row of dew claws. (According to James Eagle-child the 575
staff is called the bee lodge.) [237]

The lay members paint their bodies and faces red, with a single transverse
stripe of black or white across the nose. They wear only robes, moccasins, [531]
and breech cloths. [302]

All members wear an eagle claw on the wrist, painted yellow, and secured
by a buckskin thong. [292]

In dancing, the organization forms in a circle, the leaders to the west, [237]
the opening to the east, and the drummers in the center. When dancing
out-of-doors a piece of rawhide is used, but for ceremonies indoors, drums 561
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796
[534]
[531]
are used. The staff is borne by the first leader. All follow him, when he [532]
rises they rise, etc. After the first dance, the staff goes to the second leader, then back to the first, etc. There are four dancers and seven songs. All movements are made sun-wise. The leaders dance inside of the circle formed by the members. At the end of each dance, all quickly squat in their places.

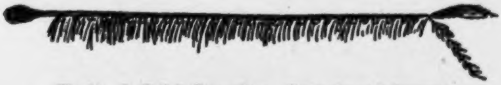

Fig. 24. Staff of the Bee society. Drawn by an Informant.

At the close of the fourth dance the leader shakes the staff causing the dew claws to rattle loudly. At once the members scatter and run about scratching people. If any of the members have been to war and entered the tipi of an enemy, they may go into any tipi and scratch at will.

The tipi of the society is pitched within the camp circle and is made by [346]
combining the covers of the tipis of the two leaders.

When moving camp the members watch the leader bearing the staff and 561
follow. 575

According to our informants the bees were older than the mosquitoes. [173]
This would give them higher rank as indicated in the list of Calf-child. We were not able to determine how two societies so similar as the mosquitoes and the bees came to exist, but think it a good guess that one of them arose as a rival organization.

THE PRAIRIE-CHICKENS.

An informant states that the age for entrance in the prairie-chicken
society (ke'tuki iks) was eighteen to nineteen years. There are two leaders [422]
who seem to own the emblems of their office jointly. When the society [346]

561 meets, the tipis of the two leaders are joined to form a single shelter. Two
575 old men are taken in as drummers. There is no special costume for members
[346] but each carries a rattle and paints his face yellow with red between the eyes.
[302] The leaders carry decorated staffs. One of these is about four feet in
length, the lower half plain yellow, the upper, blue and adorned with feath-
561 ers. At three places is a wrapping of weasel skin to hold four eagle feathers
575 laid on the sides of the stick. From the top extend two more eagle feathers
796 in *y* fashion. The other staff is yellow and blue as before, but bears one
[531]
[237]

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●535
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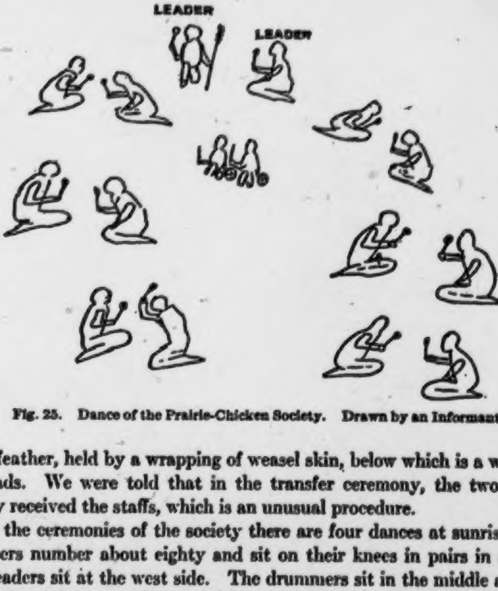

Fig. 25. Dance of the Prairie-Chicken Society. Drawn by an Informant.

561 erect feather, held by a wrapping of weasel skin, below which is a wrapping
575 of beads. We were told that in the transfer ceremony, the two leaders
796 jointly received the staffs, which is an unusual procedure.
[531] In the ceremonies of the society there are four dances at sunrise. The
[237] members number about eighty and sit on their knees in pairs in a circle.
[535] The leaders sit at the west side. The drummers sit in the middle and lean
forward and beat rapidly to make a noise like the prairie-chickens. The
two leaders get up and run around the outside of the circle and at their return
change places. The members then dance on their knees, throwing their
heads out at each other and change places. These evolutions are given four
times as stated above.

561 According to Calf-child the society was first organized when his father
575 was a boy and by his grandfather. Youths only were taken into it. The
173

old man did not dream of it, but based it upon a dance he had seen in his 561
boyhood. 575

The origin myth is as follows:— 173

> Once an old man saw some prairie-chickens dance. He was a trapper and set some snares in which the dancers were entangled. Afterwards he had a dream in which the oldest of the chickens appeared and said, "You have killed my children and spoiled our dance. If you do not leave us alone, I will take your children away. How would you like that. If I had but few children, I would take some of yours; but since I have many, you may keep yours."
>
> The old chicken carried a staff like that used in the society. Then he began to dance and gave the old man directions for forming a society.

THE CROWS.

The important point in this society is that it was organized about forty- 561
one years ago and gave its annual ceremony four times, and then ceased 575
to meet. It is said to have originated in the dream of a North Blackfoot [787]
boy. It should not be confused with the ma′esto^{x}pa′takiks (raven-bearers). 561
The leader and the members wore fringed black shirts and leggings. All 575
carried buffalo tails. Their faces were painted red or yellow, with black 796
symbols representing crow's feet.

There were three to four drummers who sat in the center of the dance [292]
circle. Near them was the skin from the head of a buffalo and upon it the [237]
head of a crow. The leader held these alternately when dancing. The [302]
dances were held in the night and were very noisy, like congregated crows. [535]

A special drum was provided, painted black, and bore a picture of a [534]
crow.

THE ALL-BRAVE-DOGS.

While with the Piegan, the members paint according to their rattles, [302]
in this division they paint according to a definite formula, yellow on the face with transverse bars of red across the eyes and mouth. The wives of members take part as previously noted, but paint like their husbands and may at times dance in their stead. In the regular ceremonies they dance at four different points in the camp circle. Our informants mentioned the two bear members, described by the Piegan. The North Blackfoot name is ma′tse.

THE BAD-HORNS.

This was organized by a North Blackfoot man who believed he had died 561
and visited the land of the dead. He came to a place where the dead were 575
[787]

561 dancing. As he stood watching, the leader shook his staff at him at which
575 he passed again into life. His name was Calf-shakes-his-head and after-
[797] ward he founded the society.

The leader carries a staff about four feet long bearing fringes and hoofs
561 throughout its length. The fringe is made from the smoky top of a tipi.
575 One end of the staff is sharpened for planting in the ground. The costume
796 is a very long shirt, like a woman's dress with fringes on the sides, made of
[292] smoky tipi covers. The leggings and moccasins are of the same material.
White paint is spread around the eyes, and around the mouth, red with an
[302] outer border of white.

The second leader has a staff and a costume identical with the first.

● [535] There is but one song. In the dance they stand fast, moving the head
and shoulders only. The positions are as in other societies. All hold
[534] whistles in their mouths while making the dancing movements.

There are three drums. These are laid upon the ground and not held when beaten.

The name of this society is paˣka'potskinaiye.

THE BRAVES.

[184] The organization is on the whole, similar to the corresponding society among the Piegan, but an informant gave the following exceptions:—

> [292] The shirts they wear are long and reach to the feet. They are made from the smoked parts of tipis. They have a headdress that seems to be a painted cap with holes for the eyes, nose, and mouth. They have two white lances. The informant claims that formerly there were but two of these, and that later they added two more. The other features of the dance are as described by the Piegan.

SUMMARY.

561 In general it may be said that the Piegan, Blood, and North Blackfoot
575 divisions of the Blackfoot Indians have the same series of societies for men.
184 The same conceptions underlie their gradations and functions and in most
cases the details of organization and the names are identical. This can be interpreted in two ways: either the system was acquired before the divisions separated, or it was disseminated from one center. For a long time the Blood and Piegan have been most intimate and the Indians themselves seem to recognize greater affinity between them. Consistent with this is the close correspondence between their societies. Yet, the greater differences for the North Blackfoot occur among the societies for younger men, which as we

WOMEN'S SOCIETIES.

THE MA'TOKI.

575 Among the Blood and North Blackfoot division flourishes a woman's
society known as the ma'toki. No one seemed to know of any such organi-
zation among the Piegan. The word cannot be readily translated and may
be of foreign origin. Among the white people in Canada the name "buffalo
575 dance" is current.[1] The first mention of the ceremony seems to be Maxi-
796 milian's brief account:—

> The medicine dance of the women does not occur every year. It is a medicine
> \# 535 feast for the latter, at which, however, some men likewise appear. A large wooden
> [346] hut is erected, the women dress themselves as handsomely as they can, and all wear
> a large feather cap. Some of the women take no part in the dance, and these, with
> [292] the men, are spectators. Men beat the drum, and shake the schischikué, the last
> [534] day of the feast; when the dance is finished, the buffalo park is imitated; the men,
> the children, and the remaining women form two diverging lines, *b* and *c*, which
> proceed from the medicine lodge, out of which the women creep, crawling on all-fours,
> and endeavour to imitate the manners of the buffalo cows. Several men represent
> buffalo bulls, and are at first driven back by the women; but then, as is the practice
> in this kind of hunting, a fire is kindled to windward, and the women, or buffalo cows,
> as soon as they smell the smoke, retreat into the medicine lodge, which concludes the
> festival. They sometimes perform this dance in the summer, when the fancy takes
> them.[2]

575 From Mr. Duvall's notes we take the following:—

> 796 The ma'toki dance but once a year when the camp circle is formed. Their
> 346 ceremony lasts four days. First they make a shelter somewhat like the one used for
> a sun dance. A tipi pole is set up in the center, with a peculiar cross piece near the
> top. A number of travois are set up in a circle around this pole and joined together
> by tipi poles tied along the top, making a single railing all the way around. Then
> other tipi poles are tied to this and to the cross piece on the center pole, forming
> rafters like in the sun dance shelter. On the sides and over the top are stretched tipi
> covers. At the bottom they are weighted with stones. Along the sides within
> blankets are suspended.
>
> [422] The center pole is the ceremonial property of the leader of the ma'toki and her
> organization name is ma'toki-tipi-pole-owner. Near the cross piece on the pole are
> four transverse black bands about a hand apart.
>
> When the shelter is ready the members bring their bedding and occupy their
> respective places during the entire four days.

---

[1] See McClintock, 450.

[2] Maximilian, 112, 115.

575 During the first day men, women, and children go in to be painted, taking with
796 them sun offerings of cloth, etc., which are tied to the base of the center pole. The
[782] faces of these donors are painted over with red and a blue mark made down the fore-
head and nose with a fork at the top. This is said to symbolize the tipi pole in the
[302] center and spoken of as the tipi pole paint.

[346] The ceremonial shelter has two doors, one at the northeast and one at the south-
east. In going out members use the nearest door but return by the other. The four
[534] singers use rattles and a rawhide of the same type as accompanies the beaver bundle
(Vol. 7, 190). They sit west of the fireplace.

● [535] All the women wear bone whistles suspended by neck cords and upon these they
blow while they dance. They do not all dance at once, but by groups. Thus, the
four scabby bulls rise and dance. When they sit again the feather bonnets take a
turn, etc. In all movements the owner of the tipi pole has absolute authority. Her
[292] person seems to be regarded as sacred. She wears a buckskin dress and a snake
[237] bonnet and sits to the right of the other snake bonnet wearers. This bonnet takes
its name from a circlet of buckskin stuffed with hair and resembling a snake. It is
[531] painted yellow with a zigzag line beaded along the side. On each side of the head is
a bunch of plumes. Fringes of weasel fur and beads hang from the sides.

The feather bonnets are covered over the crowns with a mass of soft bird feathers.
They have tail pieces falling down on the shoulders and bearing transverse rows of
small wing and tail feathers. All their dances occur in the daytime. The scabby
[535] bulls wear bonnets with horns and robes of cowskin, hair side out. They dance in
single file, circling the pole. First they rise and dance in their tracks, then move to
the south side of the fire and dance, then to the west and then to the north. Next
the snake bonnets rise with the tipi pole owner in the lead and dance in the same way.
Next come the feather bonnets and finally the buffalo wool bonnets.

[782] It is customary for persons who have made vows, or pledges during the year, if their prayers be granted, to provide a feast of berry soup for the ma'toki. At various times during the ceremonies a pledger brings in a kettle of soup and some tobacco which is offered to the tipi pole owner with an announcement of the circumstances. Then the soup is dished out to the members and each and all pray for the pledger.

796 On the morning of the last day, before sunrise, the ma'toki forms in procession
575 and imitates buffalo going to water. They seek out some depression or low place in
535 the prairie. As they drift along they segregate, as they do in the dance. At a place
designated by the leader they all lie down like buffalo.

Now, it is customary for a man or a boy to have made a vow that he will "drive in the ma'toki" at their next ceremony. His sacrifice must be a horse and many presents to the owner of the tipi pole. This man then rides out as if looking for buffalo. When he finds them, he builds a fire with cow dung to windward. As soon as the ma'toki smell the smoke, they rise. The driver then mounts and rides toward them, at which they start for their shelter. As they proceed, he rides on their flank. They trot to the shelter, but the four scabby bulls trail slowly in the rear. When the members get inside the shelter they run around the inside sun-wise until one by one some person lays hold of them and leads them to a seat. Two of the snake bonnets run around in the reverse way. The four bulls come in last and walk slowly around until pulled into their seats.

796 Like the horns and other societies the members sell, or transfer, to others, usually
575 all transferring at the same time. The ceremony seems to require four days and
432

with canvas, a series of travois was fastened to the beams right around, the center 575
pole had two pieces of calico cloth tied to it. The women sat nearest the walls, 796
two rows deep.

The performance proper of which only a very small portion was seen (on June [346]
19th) commenced about 6 o'clock and was said to cease at sunset. In the back,
but in front of the women, sat four men in a line, who were chanting and beating
their rattles. Four women crawled on their knees (not hands) to a diametrically [535]
opposite position to that of the chanters, and after the song arose and one after
another touched the center pole. Then they danced in their places, moving one hand
rhythmically. Their places were taken by several women wearing horn headdresses.
These also danced in their places, walked a few paces to the left, and then resumed
motions as before. When diametrically opposed to the singers, the touching of the
center pole regularly took place. At intervals a woman seized five or six rattles, [534]
carried them near the center pole and beat them there. Two of the dancers had bone
whistles, which were blown at regular intervals.

The regalia consist of a string of deer ankle bones painted red to symbolize 794
the deer, or that the bearer "holding these bones is likewise holding the 224
feet of the deer." When hunting they may wear on the head a pair of rabbit 789
ears, painted yellow, to give speed and endurance. In the members' individual [237]
bundles are also weasel and other skins for which there are special
songs.

Perhaps the most interesting feature of the ritual is the use of hypnotic 794
power. There are four special songs for working this charm. In our collection 928
of myths concerning this cult, we gave the narrative of a Piegan who came under the power of these songs.[1] Thus, it is said that a member painting his face yellow, taking up one of the skins and binding it on the head can hypnotize a person by looking in his eyes steadily and then making a sudden upward movement with the hands. After a time the operator wakes the subject, after which he is an undoubting follower of the cult.

We learn from Professor A. F. Chamberlain that the Kootenai have a 794
black-tailed deer dance but for want of full published data cannot go into a [171]
comparative discussion. Naturally, the Blackfoot have the transfer and
bundle conceptions concerning this ceremony as with other organizations. [432]

Mr. Duvall secured a good account of the cult from Tailen Ashley, a [115]
mixed-blood Piegan, who introduced it among his people:—

> The dance is ceremonial and was introduced from the Kootenai. Those who do [173]
> not believe in the dance and ridicule it, are thrown into a trance by those who have
> the power, and are then awakened and become followers. Each man and woman [828]
> member has a song of his or her own and some have more. The songs are bought
> from members and a horse or other property paid for them. Sometimes new songs [424]
> are dreamed.
>
> The dance is held in the evening, generally lasting through the night. Sometimes 794
> it is held four nights in succession. It may be given at any time, and is sometimes 796
> given the night before hunting, when it is usually dreamed where the game
> will be found. Sometimes a vow is made to give the dance for a sick relative. About [789]
> midnight a feast is made. When the dance is given for a sick person all the dancers
> pray for him. If the members do not wish to dance they must remain standing to [755]
> show their respect to the rest of the dancers.
>
> At the beginning of the dance a smudge of sweetgrass is made near the rear of 794
> the house or tipi. The leader holds both hands over the smudge, places his hands 796
> near his ears, one hand on top of his head, his right hand over his heart, over his
> mouth and nose, and then takes his place. All the members repeat the same movements. 535
> The leader rises and stands in the center of the floor, and all the members [788]
> stand around him facing the center. He shakes a bunch of deer hoofs, and prays.
> Then he dances in place, then turns and dances around to his right, the others following [782]
> him in single file, jumping up and down to represent deer. He stops, prays,
> and then dances as before. Then the man next to him takes his place and goes

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[1] Vol. 2, 169.

794 through the same performance. While dancing they all sing and some carry bells to
796 keep time. Others hold both hands on their breasts as in the stick game. No
drums are used. It is thought that the more the dancers exert themselves during
● 535 the dance the better will be the result of their prayers.

Some members have hypnotic power. The prayers are for food, success in all
[534] undertakings, and protection against death. They pray to those who have given
[928] them power or songs in their dreams.

[789] The origin of the dance is given in the following:—

794 A man had been ill for a long time and was not expected to recover. One time,
while still ill, those around him heard him try to sing and raise himself. He sup-
173 ported himself on a post, meanwhile humming. Then he returned to his bed, and
787 said, "I have had a dream. A deer came to me and said, 'I have come to help you. I have taken pity on you. You see yonder hill. I will lead you to the top of it. Hold my windpipe, but if you pull my windpipe in two before we reach the top, you will die. If not, you will get well.' We went up the hill very slowly. When we reached the top, the deer said, 'There are four deer on yonder ridge which I will give you. When you kill them take out the windpipe and lungs of one of them as you see mine now. Be careful and do not cut them in two. Take them home and cook them and give a dance and eat them and you will be well.' That is why I got out of bed and held on to the post. I thought it was the deer." Then he said to the two men, "Go to yonder ridge and kill the four deer there. Butcher one of them as I was told in the dream and bring it to me." They returned with the deer. That night they held a dance, the black-tailed deer dance.

794 Before hunting, a deer dance is held, so they may dream where the game
[224] will be found. Sometimes the leader dances, holding a post with both
hands with bells, deer hoofs or claws in one hand, and a handkerchief or skin
[789] in the other. Anyone who believes in the dance may join whether he has
[796] songs or not. Some of the regalia for the dance are: rabbit ears, deer
claws and hoofs, feathers, plumes, mink skins, otterskins, sleigh bells, and
[237] deer tails, also weasel skins, owl and other feathers. Juniper is more fre-
[824] quently used for the smudge than sweetgrass. The members paint in
[302] red or yellow with a stripe across the forehead and one across the chin.

Some members have power to give ill luck and to charm game. When
794 game is killed by the members, they must not cut into the windpipe, nor give
789 the heart to the dogs. The head of deer must not be used by anyone as food,
224 nor must children be allowed to play with it or the hoofs. The reason that
these taboos must be kept is that the member may be able to charm game.
[784] When they wish to go out to hunt, they set up a stick covered with cloth
about twelve inches long at the rear of the tipi and make a smudge of juniper
back of it. The men sing, but must not pass between the stick and the
fireplace.

794 ghosts to the place and said, "Let us all have a dance for four nights and restore this
769 man's life to him." They agreed, and after four nights, the man came to life again
773 and saw the ghosts, how they painted their faces, and how they dressed. One of
173 the ghosts said to him, "We will give you this dance. When anyone is sick or about
539 to die, have a dance, and he will recover." The man returned to his home. After
some time someone was very ill. This man gave the ghost dance, and taught it to
the people.

794 The dancers paint to represent skeletons, so it is said. The face and
769 exposed parts of the body are painted white, while around the mouth and
302 each eye is a bold circle of black or red. The effect is quite hideous.

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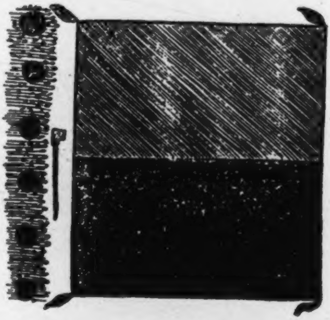

Fig. 28. Smudge Altar for the Ghost Dance. Drawn by Big-brave. The altar is about one foot square, the north half red, the south half black. Red and black plumes respectively are stuck up at the corners. At the west is a row of buffalo chips covered with sage grass. Between these and the altar lies the pipe used in the ceremony. Sweetgrass is used on the altar and the tongs should lie on the north side.

794 There are no particular regalia except a plume on the head, nor are there
769 any bundles. The ceremony has, however, its own peculiar ritual and
[292] songs. Women dance with the men.

[796] A dance rarely occurs unless some man makes a vow or formal pledge to
provide a feast and dance for the dead in return for some expected or realized
794 good fortune. At the ceremony his wife sits near the door and takes the
769 name of Yellow-woman. She paints her hair yellow and her face red with a
796 yellow band across the forehead. On her head, she wears a plume. A great
535 abundance of food is expected.

[789] The smudge altar is a large oval with the incense hearth at one end.
At the other is placed a small pipe and four plumes. According to Big-
[302] brave the altar was square, Fig. 28. One member is delegated to attend to
[778]

the pipe. At the close of each dance he fills the pipe and hands it to the 794
leader after which it circulates. As soon as it is burned out the dancing 769
is resumed. There are four periods of dancing. The evolutions consist 796
of dancing, alternately facing the fire and the walls, twice for each. Then 535
all sit down, save the leader who takes the pipe and prays. Then he sits
down and smokes. In starting a dance all rise to their knees, making
movements as in playing the stick game, where with four movements they
rise to their feet.

During the ceremonies no one must laugh nor must anyone spit. No [784]
dead person should be designated by name. [551]

A special ceremony was sometimes given by two members. They did
not use the regular painting but dressed in fine clothes and danced with [789]
ropes and whips. This was believed to bring good luck in capturing horses.

THE ALL-SMOKING CEREMONY.

We come now to a ceremony that goes by the name kanochisisin, or all- 794
smoking ceremony. It is not clear whether this is a cult or simply a group
ceremony like the sun dance. The right to lead in the proceedings seems [424]
to be owned by one individual and may be transferred like other ritualistic
things. Thus it is said, "If the man who leads in the ceremony is pleased [432]
with the presents he receives, he may transfer the right to lead to one pledging the ceremony."

The distinguishing feature of the ceremony is that it is a kind of medicine [554]
coup counting. Like warriors recounting their deeds, those present are
called upon to count over the different medicine rituals they have owned
and all fired with new enthusiasm to secure more. In conformity to a vow 794
or formal pledge a man will invite people to his tipi for an evening feast. 796
He will engage a man with the right to lead to conduct the all-smoking 554
ceremony. He will have ready a pot of tongues and berry soup; also a
quantity of tobacco cut and mixed. The meeting is to last until this is
used up. Each guest is called upon in turn to sing songs from one of the
rituals of medicines owned by him. So they pass around in order. The
process is thus a kind of counting out in that the last men are those who have
owned the most medicines.

The following account was secured by Mr. Duvall:—

> When a man vows to give the all-smoking ceremony he invites many men to his 794
> tipi and calls upon someone who has the privilege to lead the ceremony. A fee is 796
> paid in blankets or clothing. First the man giving the feast makes a soup of tongues,
> cherries, and blood. Before the tongues are cut up by the women, prayers are said [782]

DANCE ASSOCIATIONS.

There are still a number of ceremonies of a more or less social character 535
which because of their loose organization we have designated as dance 575
associations.

THE HAIR-PARTERS OR GRASS DANCE.

The well known grass dance of the Northern Plains appears among the [184]
Blackfoot under the name ka'espai and flourishes among all the tribal divi-
sions. A spirited description of it will be found in McClintock's, "Old
North Trail." This dance was acquired some years ago from neighboring 535
tribes. While some informants believe the first forms of it came from the 177
Crow and Assiniboine, all are positive that its formal installation came from [173]
the Gros Ventre, about thirty years ago. Even at the present day, a Black-
foot visiting the Gros Ventre generally brings back some new point of pro-
cedure. Quite recently the Piegan have helped introduce the ceremony to 535
the Flathead. It seems to us that owing to the historical point of view in 171
present-day anthropology, according to which the question of independent [177]
and common origin is vital, such data have a peculiar value. This particu-
lar ceremony presents a most interesting case of diffusion since it can be [121]
traced over the Plains without difficulty. Among the Gros Ventre, some of [345]
the Assiniboine, the several divisions of the Dakota, and the Crow, the cere-
monies are usually held in a peculiar many-sided house with a square hole
or opening in the roof. We have seen a number of these houses among the
tribes mentioned and find them of precisely the same form and internal
arrangement. We learned that the first of these houses among the Piegan 535
was built about twelve years ago on Black-tail Creek near Heart Butte. 174
Two or three years later a second was erected on Little Badger Creek and [345]
about two years ago a third on Cut Bank Creek. However, the Piegan had
the dance some time before the first dance house was erected. Maclean
notes the presence of this organization among the Blood in 1892 [1] and Dr.
Lowie reports it as present among the Northern Blackfoot in 1907, but as
to the time of its introduction, we have no data.

Mr. Duvall gathered two rather full accounts of the dance from which we 535
take the following:—

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[1] Vol. 4, 255. He translates the name as Sioux warriors.

535 173 177 [721] Long before the Piegan had the grass dance, thirty-five or forty years ago, some of the regalia, the war-bonnet, tomahawk, two dancing whips, feather tail belt, and a drum were captured from the Sioux and Assiniboine. A Piegan war party went among the Sioux and found the body of a Sioux tied up in a tree with a large drum near it. The Piegan took the drum and used the leather head for the soles of moccasins.

Some years later the Piegan met the Crow who told them that the regalia they had captured were used in the grass dance. They also taught them the dance. Later, Bob-tail-horse, who had stolen the drum from the Sioux grave made another like it. The Piegan then organized the grass dance which was later improved by Big-nose and Running-rabbit who visited the Assiniboine and brought back many of the dance outfits. As I obtained this information from three or four different people, I am quite sure the grass dance was first given by the Crow. Though the Piegan captured some of the dance regalia, they did not know its use until they met the Crow. Thus they held the dance, but later the Gros Ventre and Assiniboine gave them more of the regalia and added much more to the dance.

535 575 [431] [784] Formerly, the rules for the dance were very different from the present rules. The first grass dance society used to throw away women, horses, blankets, and other property. A stick is thrown away and whoever gets it receives the property for which it was thrown. When a member of the dance drops anything, he must not pick it up. Now, should a member drop something during the dance all the members dance around it in a circle, until someone picks it up, relates four war deeds, and returns it to the owner.

[778] [784] [751] Most of the dance regalia, such as the tomahawk, the sword and belt, were considered very sacred. For example, if a man has been with a woman the night before the dance, he must not dance with the belt. If this rule be broken, the penalty is a lame back. Women must not touch any of these things or their hands will swell. The men must also avoid smoking with women.

When the dance paraphernalia are not in use they are wrapped up lengthwise in a small bundle of calico, and tied with a cord. Before using, a smudge is made and the bundle held in it.

[789] [787] One of the members furnished the tobacco and filled the pipes for the others to smoke. Four single women members were taken in. These women assisted in the singing and often rode double with the men when they rode around the camps at night, singing. The evening before the dance some of the members would sing to bring good weather the next day. They had a pipe about seven inches long painted red. One of the members filled the pipe, held it up, remaining seated. While the others sang, he held the bowl and stem with both hands on a level with his eyes. Then he dropped the pipe to the ground. If none of the tobacco was spilled the day would be fine, but if some was dropped the day would be stormy.

[262] In the dance, dogs are eaten. These are furnished by outsiders who are well paid in blankets, clothing, and possibly a gun and horse. Each member is supposed to bring with him a cup in which the berry soup or coffee is placed by two or more men. If a member has no cup the food will be poured into his hat or blanket to teach him to bring a cup the next time. While the food is being served all the members say, "How," meaning, "I have enough." Should any member omit this, he will be compelled to eat all the food alone as a punishment.[1]

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[192] [1] On inquiry Mr. Duvall found that the Indians were ignorant of the origin of this word, but used it because it was taught them by the Assiniboine in transferring the ceremony. This is an interesting example of a borrowed word. In Dakota, the word is used in greeting or in expressing satisfaction.

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When a dance is announced, all the members leave blankets or other property 535
with the whip or sword owners as a pledge to attend the dance. Should a member 575
fail to attend, his property will be destroyed by the sword and whip men. Occa- [784]
sionally, other property is returned in its stead.

During the dance, the whip owners aided by the sword owners, force the members
to dance by striking them. Should they cause the blood to flow, the whip and sword [681]
men pay the injured man well. When the members wish to go out during the dance
they give the whip owners some trinket, as a ring or necklace, in order to get permission to leave.

Later the grass dance society sold their dance regalia to the Blood. Afterwards [184]
the Piegan frequently visited the Assiniboine and Gros Ventre and returned with
some grass dance regalia and revived the dance, and added more to it every year. [177]
Nowadays, the dance is very different from what it used to be, and is not considered
powerful medicine. Dog flesh is no longer eaten, although the feast itself has not [178]
been abolished. At the present time anyone may join the dance as it is only given [262]
for amusement.

Henry-no-bear, one of the best singers among the grass dance members, once [432]
paid seven horses, a gun, and blankets for the office of furnishing tobacco. When
he sold to another man he received in payment only two horses and a few blankets. [424]
Nowadays, they neither sell nor buy into the society, but anyone owning a good dance outfit joins the dance. Sometimes one man can borrow the dance outfit from another and dance with it. There is no leader in the dance as all the members wish to be chiefs.

A second informant gave the following:—

At the present time the grass dance may be danced by anyone as it is not a cere- 535
monial dance. Once the crow belt and some other things were held to be sacred. [778]
The Blood now have a sacred crow belt.

Formerly, the members feared to smoke a pipe with a woman. Should a member [784]
drop anything at any time he must leave it for another to pick up. Only the counting
of four war deeds will give him the right to do so. This taboo is nowadays kept
only during the dance and is entirely disregarded at other times. Often property, [231]
such as blankets, or horses, or even a woman is thrown away during the grass dance.[1]

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[1] An informant commented as follows: — Sometimes the grass dancers give up their [586]
wives. However, as this dance came from the Crow, the custom is more common among
them. Some twenty years ago Flat-tail, a Piegan, gave up his wife during the grass dance. [587]
He threw away a stick and said at the same time, "This is my wife, I am going to throw her away." One, John-shorty, picked up the stick and took the woman as his wife. Both are still living. This was the first time this was done among the Piegan.

When a man finds fault with his wife he simply sends her back to her own people. One time a man discovered that his wife had a lover. Instead of killing her, as is usually done, he told her he would force her to marry her lover. The woman's brother heard of this and killed her. So the Piegan never make their wives marry others.

In the dog society it is the custom to give away a woman. A Blood once had several wives and decided to give the youngest to a man he liked. They were married and he called the man son-in-law and treated the young woman as his daughter. Another Piegan was very fond of the sweat house. One of his wives ran off with another man. The people told the young man with whom the Piegan's wife had run off to make a sweat house and pay the husband a horse for his wife. The man was well pleased with the sweat house and did not even accept the horse, but gave up his wife to the other and both men remained good friends.

535 575 [431] In throwing away a blanket the stick is not used. Nowadays this custom is not adhered to very strongly. Only when visitors from other reservations are present are presents given. There are seven belts belonging to different members with which all the members must dance and present to the visitors whatever they can afford, horses, blankets, or money. Others relate war deeds and give away property to the visitors.

[534] There are three dance houses on the reservation. Four large drums are used in the dance but only one of these may be used at a time. These drums are made of cow hide and about the size of a bass drum. Some commercial drums are also used. [531] The cowhide drums are painted blue and red and placed on curved sticks, decorated with beadwork. About eight men sit around the drum, each man taking his turn to sing and drum.

[292] When the women dance the singers rise to sing for them. The women dance in a circle with the men among them. Four women dance around at a time, wearing war-bonnets, all the women taking turns at wearing them. After the women have [431] danced, the dance ends. The wearing of the bonnets brings with it the same obligations as the wearing of one of the seven belts among the men, that is, presenting gifts to visitors. The four war-bonnets are hung up at the rear of the dance house. Before the women begin to dance, four men rise, dance, and each counting four war deeds, the bonnets are given to the women.

[262] Six or eight chiefs or old warriors are chosen to eat the dog. They are seated on a blanket near the pot of dog meat and after they have finished eating, they rise and dance, each one tells four war deeds and gives presents. The man who owns the arrow or spoon rises and dips the point of the arrow into the pot of dog meat which is then ready for the dog eaters.

Nowadays, there seems to be no leader in the dance as every one wishes to be leader. There is one man who cares for the tobacco and fills the pipes for all the members; five men to do the lashing to induce the members to dance. These men give presents at the beginning of the dance thus purchasing the right to the whipping. [681] These men dance around and lash all those who remain seated. If they should bruise anyone while doing this, they must pay the person who is hurt. Two other men have swords, or long knives, and assist the lashers. Three men act as criers, announcing when gifts are made, where the next dance is to take place, etc.

Among the women, there are two whippers. Everyone dresses and paints to suit his own fancy. Usually the dance lasts all day and half the night. Near the end of the dance the dog meat and other food is eaten. The feast is provided by those who give the dance.

[784] Should a member drop anything during the dance he must not pick it up. All the members rise and dance in a circle until someone picks up the object dropped, relates four war deeds, and returns it to its owner.

[533] There are a great many dance songs for only certain men to dance. They are: songs for those who own the whips; for those who own the swords; for the one who owns a whistle; for those who were wounded in battle; for those who eat the dogs; for the man who owns the arrow; for those who were surrounded by enemies in battle; for those who did not run when fighting; for those who take down the women's war-bonnets; for those who gave many presents; for those who wear black clothing in the scalp dance; and for those who cut the ropes when stealing horses from the enemy's camp. A closing song is sung for those who were wounded in battle and who lead all the members out of the dance house.

Long before the grass dance was introduced among the Piegan they had captured some of the paraphernalia from other tribes. One time a Piegan went to steal horses from the Assiniboine. He found an Assiniboine grave with a large drum. He took the drum and returned home with it. The Piegan knew these things were for the grass dance, but did not know much about it. Later the dance was introduced by some Piegan who visited the Gros Ventre. Every year some new feature is added to the dance and all come from the Gros Ventre. 535 177 [721] [173]

In 1907 Dr. R. H. Lowie observed this dance among the Northern Blackfoot. From his notes we quote as follows:— 535

> The dancing ground was U-shaped, bounded by a dozen wagons. In the center floated the Union Jack on a flag staff, beside it was stored a quantity of food and pails of water. The dancers and their Sarsi and Cree visitors sat inside the boundaries, the spectators occupied the wagons, or were stretched out under them, or remained standing, some being seated around the open end of the U space. Other smaller groups of spectators remained at some distance. [177]
>
> The paint on one man was as follows: Eye-brows blue, a blue blotch on his chin and a blue cross on either cheek. Another had his back in yellow with impress of two hands in red. [302]
>
> There were two distinct parts, as far as modes of dancing are concerned. In the first men danced alone, very much as the Shoshone in their ta'sayàge. In the second, women took part, standing either next to each other or, subsequently between two men. This second part was a round dance quite similar to the Cree dance of the Shoshone, except that the men did not clasp the women's shoulders, or touch them in any way. The women, for the most part, wore tall feather headdresses. At the end of the dance, that one of the women who had danced best and did not yet possess a headdress was selected for receiving one as a present. [292]
>
> Six drummers stood in the center. Several men forming a quadrant danced around them, the closed circle of men and women dancers being outside of this group. These dancers all moved to the left. Outside of their circle a single woman, armed with a long feathered wand, and accompanied by a very young child danced to the right. Her function was said to be to whip the young men not taking part, but the duty of pulling in dancers was performed, as far as I could see by one of the men.
>
> During the intermissions several men exhorted their fellow-tribesmen to give presents to their guests and by the end of the performance a considerable number of blankets were heaped up. The intervals were also employed to recount deeds of horse-stealing. [431]
>
> There was no apparent regularity (except in the women's headgear) either in paint or costume, but the regalia were rather lavish. Several feathered crooks were noted, one man carried a double-bent bow, mirrors were common, and some carried swords. Some danced practically naked, save for moccasins, breechclout, and ornaments, but fringed and beaded leggings and buckskin shirts were more common. [292]

There was no fixed number of members. The custom was for the society to elect its members. A messenger was then sent out who took the member-elect by the hand and led him in to a seat.[1] His regalia were con- 535 575

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[1] This is a significant fact not alone because it is unusual in Blackfoot organizations, but because this trait is typical for the Dakota from whom this dance spread to the Northern Plains tribes. [177]

535 575 tributed by other members. On the other hand, the Blackfoot transfer conception was recognized, because if a member individually called in an outsider and turned over to him his entire regalia, he thereby himself became an outsider and could not be a member until formally taken in again. It seems safe to guess that we have here a conflict between the traditional Blackfoot way of doing and the rules of the foreign grass dance organization. The active members were men over fifteen years of age but it is usual to regard the organization as a young men's affair.

The regalia employed are almost identical with a Gros Ventre set in the [292] Museum but instead of a "dog fork," the Piegan use a lance or stick. As has been noted the crow belt and the spreading hair headdress are used. These have been described by Kroeber.[1] A matter of special interest is that members formerly each had a miniature bundle, containing a feather or other small ornament which they cared for in the characteristic Blackfoot way. This was kept in a tiny cylindrical rawhide case of the type used for war [778] medicines. As noted in the preceding, there was one particular crow belt that was regarded as a medicine object and which is now owned by a Blood [292] Indian. The face and body painting of the society is optional as is also [302] the costume aside from headdress and crow belts. At present, it is customary to give a public ceremony at the sun dance for which a circle of wagons is made within the southern segment of the camp circle. Many meetings are held during the winter months but these are now almost entirely social affairs.

[778] The reference in Duvall's notes to the great care in handling the first [177] regalia of this society, when such were treated as medicine bundles and the later abandonment of this practice under the tutorship of the Gros Ventre [121] is a fine example of the Blackfoot tendency to adjust everything ceremonial to their scheme of individual ownership and transfer.

[173] So far no definite mythical origin for this ceremony has been encountered except that a Piegan named Three-bears heard that a negro half-breed Dakota was given the dance in a dream, when he saw some chickens dancing. The roosters wore crow belts and large combs, the latter now symbolized by the peculiar roached headdress. Perhaps this is an embryonic myth.

THE HORSE DANCE.

535 [726] A spectacular performance with mounted men goes by the name of horseback dance, or big dance. Its chief function seems to have been the arousal of courage and enthusiasm for war. Those who take part decorate

[531]
[231]

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[1] Kroeber, 271.

and paint their horses. Each marks on his horse the guns he has captured. 535
A mark is made with red paint to show that his horse was wounded or killed; 231
or the figure of a man is painted on the breast of the horse to indicate that a 531
man was once ridden down. The horses are also painted in white paint
as for war. The tail is tied up and beaded bridles with cross bar sticks,

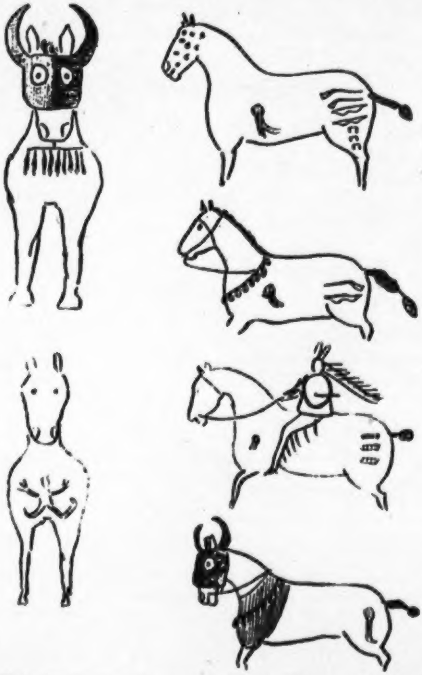

Fig. 29. These sketches show the use of the horse bonnet and the decorations of horses for the horse dance ceremony. One side of a horse bonnet is always painted red, the other blue. The paintings on the horses represent the deeds of the riders. Drawn by Red-plume. [532]

decorated with feathers, are used. Some of the horses have horse bonnets and bells around their collars.

There are no restrictions as to who shall take part in the horse dance, 535
but usually it is the warriors who dance before going to war. The men dress [726]
[292]

535 in their best clothes, put on war paint, and use all their war bundles, shields,
[292] lances, bonnets, and horn bonnets. A number of old men and women form
a circle about the center of the camp and sing and drum for the horsemen
who first ride out of sight of the camp and then come into the camp circle
at great speed, circle around once, and then come to the center where the
[726] singers are, riding around and getting off to dance from time to time. The
men shoot and shout while some admonish the others to be brave in case of
[787] war. If anyone fall from his horse, ill luck is sure to follow. There are
special songs for this dance.

[533] When the men get ready to go on the warpath they dress and paint as
726 for the horse dance and ride around the camp in the same way.

535 This dance seems to have some connection with the rituals described in
Vol. 7, 107–111, in so far as owners of those rituals take the leading parts
in the parades. For similar ceremonies among the Teton-Dakota see p. 96.

SCALP DANCE.

535 A dance known as the scalp dance, said to come from Scabby-round-robe,
727 is danced after a victory in battle.[1] The dance is held only when men on the
enemy's side have been killed. Sometimes when only one man, and one of
no importance has been killed on the Blackfoot side, the dancers go to his
[431] relatives and ask permission to have the dance. They present the mourners
with clothing, robes, etc.

Either one or four days may be given over to a dance for the same victory.
It is held in the center of the camp circle. Anyone who wishes may join.
[292] The women dance with men's weasel-tail shirts, bonnets, braid their hair as
[237] the men do, and tie weasel tails in it. They also tie their husbands' medicine
bundles, like the smoking-otter, the black-covered pipe, and the lance to
[302] their hair and use guns as canes. Some women dance with a stick to which
is tied the scalplock of an enemy. If a hand be cut off they hold it in their
[822] teeth while dancing. Some dress as grotesquely as possible, while others
paint their faces black, the sign of victory.

The men and women stand opposite each other about twenty feet apart. The men have six or eight drums, and sing, while the women dance toward them until the song is ended when they dance backward. These movements are repeated with each song.

[553] Those who have killed an enemy are led around on a horse by some old
men, who sing the songs of cheer or praise, calling the rider by name and

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[1] Vol. 2, 81.

saying, "Ha-a-e Ha-a-e." Finally, the horse and rider are led in among 535
the dancers and his new name is announced. 727

Sometimes the dance is given in the evening but then the dancers do not [553]
dress in their best clothes. Most of the songs mock the enemy, as in the
one about the Assiniboine chief White-dog: "White-dog, at last had to cry," [533]
or "Why is it that White-dog cried," meaning, he was so brave, but the
Blackfoot made him cry when he knew he was to die.

THE KISSING DANCE.

In winter evenings the kissing dance is held. There is no feast but the 535
dancers are served with tea. Three or four drums are used in the dance. [272]
The men and women dance in place on opposite sides of the tipi, facing each
other. Some of the women choose partners among the men; they dance up
to each other, throwing kisses. When they are close together a blanket is
thrown over their heads. Under the cover the two kiss each other. They
dance between the two rows of men and women. The blanket is given to
the woman as a fee for choosing the man. Sometimes other gifts are added.
There are no certain members for this dance, anyone may join. It is very
seldom that a vow is made to give this dance as it has more of a social than
a ceremonial nature. It is said to have come from the Assiniboine, but is [173]
sometimes called the Cree dance. [177]

THE TEA DANCE.

Similar to the kissing dance and also coming from the Assiniboine is the 535
tea dance, a tea-drinking contest. Anyone who so wishes may join. There 272
is no leader. The dancers divide into two bodies, both men and women [177]
may be on the same side. Each side gives the members of the other a lot of
tea to drink, the idea being to see who can drink more without falling sick.
If a person does not wish to drink any more tea he may pay the person who
made it, a blanket, or sometimes even a horse, and thus be excused from
drinking. Sometimes if one has made another ill from drinking the tea, [681]
a fee is paid.

Some men have the power to drain a pail of tea without spilling or drink- [789]
ing it, but by simply covering it with a cloth and singing. When the cloth
is removed the pail is empty. Sometimes, one will say to another, "I have
the power to empty this pot of tea in your stomach without your knowledge."
Occasionally, lovers drop a ring in the cup when passing tea to each other. [832]
There is no feast and the dance is generally held in the evening sometimes

535 lasting until daybreak. Sometimes people are invited to attend the dance,
272 and at others they simply come together of their own accord.

[533] There are special songs for the dance and drums are used. The dancers
[534] rise and dance in place, beating time on a dipper of tea while dancing.

THE NIGHT SINGERS.

533 It is an old custom among the Blackfoot for parties of young people to
883 ride about the camp at night, singing. That this is a distinct thing is evident
[492] since there is a distinct series of songs used only on such occasions. At such
times they often ride double, that is two men on a single horse, or often a
man and a woman. Mr. Duvall writes as follows:—

> [625] These young men sometimes ride around all night and sing. Formerly, it was done to guard the camp and protect the horses from being stolen by the enemy. The singers usually go around the outer edge of the camp, making many rounds. There are usually three or four groups with three or four men in each group. Sometimes women assist the night singers.
>
> [834] The night singers do not necessarily have to belong to any society but anyone may join them. This custom is kept up nowadays only during the sun dance. It is not understood as good form for the women or girls to go out with the night singers. Although a great many of the grass dance songs are sung, there are special songs also. The singing is usually continued until daylight. At the end of each song they usually shout and keep time with sleigh bells when singing. They are never ordered to sing at the present time.

THE BEGGING DANCE.

535 The Piegan name for this dance is "those that dance around camp for a
276 smoke." The members do not belong to a society, but a number of men,
[533] six or twelve, or sometimes more, go to some tipi and sing and shake their
[534] bells. This may be done at any time of the night. The owner of the tipi
fills a pipe and lets them smoke, gives them some food, a blanket, clothing,
[431] a horse, or money. The presents are divided up among the men. The
owner of the tipi seldom knows who the men are. They repeat this at four
tipis and then disband. Several groups of these men may go around at the
[556] same time, but they never stop at the same tipi. Usually, the men stop at
the tipi of a chief or head man as they are more sure of getting a smoke, for
it adds to one's prestige to be generous with presents, feasts, etc.

[pp. 461-986 not processed]

796 872 876 The nuns had a hard time in school to keep us from talking Blackfoot to each other. So they told us that if we spoke only English for one week they would bring us to the Sun Dance. Oh, my, you should have heard us for the next week—nothing but English wherever we went. We made it for the whole time.

796 The day came for us to go to the Sun Dance and we started walking. Some ways out from the camps there was a coulee, and just before we crossed the coulee the nuns told us to sit down. That is where they brought us to the Sun Dance. We hardly even recognize anybody, let alone visit with them. Here we had thought they would take us right into the camp.

796 575 535 In those days the Sun Dance lasted a long time—a month or more—because they had a lot of societies still active, and a lot of ceremonies to go through. The societies would take turns dancing on different days. There were the Pigeons, Crazy Dogs, Braves, Crow Carriers, and the Horns. The Horns took four days for their dances, and so did the Motokiks, which was made up of women. Then at the end of that they would have a day or two of the Parted Hairs Society—powwow dancing that everybody took part in.

796 778 In those days there was a lot of activity with medicine pipes, too. As many as four might be transferred during the time of the Sun Dance. Some of the owners opened their medicine pipe bundles to have a dance and give tobacco out. Sometimes an owner will want to give up his medicine pipe bundle, and no one makes a vow to take it. The owner will gather some old medicine pipe men and they will open the bundle during the night. Early the next morning they will go to the tipi of one who has a lot of property. He can afford the expensive transfer ceremony. Maybe he has a special horse that the owner of the bundle wants. He will be sleeping when the group arrives. They will be carrying the medicine pipe and other parts of the bundle. The first thing he will know is when the leader of the group gives the war cry, and the rest join in.

20: Hungry Wolf I-4,5 (no date) 1980
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

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● 535
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The Beaver Bundle Dance was last done by the Bloods when this picture was taken in 1967. The women are bouncing on their knees and imitating beavers, while four men sing and pound rawhide rattles in the background. The woman second from left is my aunt's mother, Mrs. White-Man-Left, who once had a beaver bundle with her husband. Right across from her is the holy woman, Mrs. Rides-at-the-Door, who had the last beaver bundle among the Bloods. This ceremony was a drama of my ancestors' life in harmony with nature, during which they sang about, prayed to, and imitated all the main birds and animals that they knew. Each of these was represented by a stuffed skin kept in the large medicine bundle, which a man and his wife spent a lifetime learning to take care of. Today most of the ceremony and knowledge is lost. (PHOTO: PROVINCIAL MUSEUM OF ALBERTA)

The Dances of My Grandmothers

535 In the long-ago days there were basically just two kinds of
535 public dances. One was the War Dance, done by warriors
ready to leave on the war trail. They danced to get up their
726 courage and enthusiasm. The women stood around them and
gave support by singing and giving war yells, but they did not
535 actually dance. The other dance was held when the warriors
727 returned, if they brought along scalps and suffered no losses
to their party. This Scalp Dance was done mostly by women
—the wives, mothers, and sisters of those who had gotten the
scalps, as well as those who had been mourning for a relative
lost to the enemy. These women held the fresh scalps aloft on
the ends of sticks while they let themselves go in a dance of
victory, which included much shouting and pantomime. After
the dances the scalps were usually thrown away.

535 Besides the two public dances the people of the past also
796 had many ceremonial dances. Participation was generally limited to initiated members. One of these was the Medicine Pipe
535 Dance, which was performed at least once each year for every
796 medicine pipe bundle. The men took turns dancing with vari-
778 ous articles from within the bundles. The women generally
stood in the background and danced in one place, bouncing

at the knees and occasionally shouting, to help and inspire the 535
dancing men. One medicine pipe bundle has had the unusual 796
custom that women are allowed to dance with its contents as 778
well as the men—one taking turns with the other. This is the [562]
Backside-to-the-Fire Pipe which has belonged to Paula Weasel
Head and is discussed elsewhere.

Another tradition common to all medicine pipe bundles 562
also allows women to dance. This happens if a woman is near 778
death and she or a relative calls on the powers of a certain 755
sacred pipe to rescue her. If she survives, then she is allowed 535
to dance with the sacred pipe, or another part of its bundle. However, her dance is very subdued and serious, compared to the general medicine pipe dancing done by the men. It is considered a very special blessing, for which the woman and her relatives are expected to make generous gifts of blankets and other goods to the bundle's keepers. This custom is still followed today. For many women it has been their only opportunity to be so close to one of the sacred tribal articles.

The beaver bundles of my ancestors had ceremonies even 778
more involved than those of the medicine pipes. These bun- 796
dles contained the preserved skins of nearly every kind of bird 535
and animal that lived in the country of our tribe. Each of these [237]
skins had one or more songs that was sung during parts of the ceremony. At the same time participants danced with the skins and imitated the bird or animal with symbolic movements. Some of these dances were done by the men, some by the women, and several involved both. One of the concluding dances symbolized the mating of buffalo. Two at a time, the men and women dancers paired off and did their best to imitate the actions of wild buffalo, much to the delight of the rest of the crowd watching.

Another ceremonial dance in which women imitate the 575
actions of buffalo is done by the ancient society for women, 796
the Motokiks. I have heard that this society was once active 535
among all the divisions of the Blackfoot Nation, but today it 562
functions only among the Blood. [184]

575 functions only among the Bloods. Every year, during the Sun
796 Dance encampment, the members of the group put up a spe-
535 cial lodge inside the camp circle. For four days they have their
562 meetings and religious ceremonies, most of which are private.
[533] Men take part during only certain of these ceremonies, espe-
cially the public dances, when four men with rattles sing the
778 dance songs. The members wear ancient headdresses that they
[575] keep inside their medicine bundles throughout most of the
year. These, and the Natoas used in the Sun Dance, are the
[292] only medicine bundles belonging specifically to women, and
they are very highly regarded by all the tribe.

535 When the days of war parties and scalp-taking ended, in the later eighteen hundreds, the old Scalp Dance evolved into a social dance known as the Circle Dance, or the Long-Tail Dance. It was a slow dance in which the people joined hands and arms and moved sideways in large circles. Men, women, and children all took part, but from looking at old photos it seems that the dancers were most often rows of women. This dance is still performed, though at a slightly quicker pace, under the current name of Round Dance. It is the native version of a "slow dance," and is often requested when the fast dancers are about worn out.

Another popular dance for both men and women is called the Owl Dance. It has a lively hard-soft drumbeat to which the people generally dance in couples, following each other in a circling or waving line around the dance floor. Some fancy-dressed men follow this dance alone, while others fol-
[834] low with a woman in each arm. Even the elders seem to enjoy
this dance a lot, although when they were young tribal customs frowned on the public display of intimacy necessary to
[177] do it properly. Like most of the new Indian-style dances done
by the Bloods, this one was introduced from other tribes.

535 Dances have always been important in the courting life of
584 my grandmothers. They were among the few occasions in the
past when young men and young women were allowed to be

A [i.e., of the women's society, Motokiks--Analyst] in each other's company—even if the young women were generally well chaperoned. Everyone put on his or her finest clothing in an effort to look pleasing. Those who already had eyes 535 584 for each other worked hard to send signals and messages, although direct communication was usually forbidden until after marriage. My grandfather, Willie Eagle Plume, told us this story about public dancing in his younger days, around 1920:

"The ladies would sit to one side, at a dance, and the men would sit on the other side. Before a lady went to a dance she would think about her boy friend. She would think: 'I will wear my best so that he will notice me.' A single man would think the same way. The women would sit and watch, and the drummers would start off with a good song. The men, they would dance the best way they could, to impress their girl friends. They were just like them new dancers—they moved their hips just like them white dancers that look like they are dancing by themselves. The men would dance as best as they could, all the while looking at their girl friends. They did it very good: some knew how to take good sneaking glances at the girls.

"Men who liked to show off would paint their faces, and [302] the women would just watch. Those who showed off would dance very slowly so everyone would get a good look at them. They would put on their best faces. By the end of the dance their eyes would be in the side of their head, because that is the way they were looking at their girl friends all night. The women would do the same way when they got up and did their Circle Dances."

An interesting aspect of the Circle Dances was that the 535 292 women were allowed to wear their husband's special headdresses—those with eagle tailfeathers, that stand straight up, and those with weasel skins and horns. These were sacred 535 292 778 headdresses for which the husbands had been initiated. At the time of transfer they would have their wives painted and

535 blessed as well so they would have the rights to wear them.
292 This custom was carried over from the old Scalp Dances, when
178 the women wore their men's war clothes and carried their
weapons while dancing with the scalps.

There were even special headdresses, of the men's style, that were transferred only among women, to be used during the Circle Dances. I have heard that there were four of these among the Bloods, but they were probably all buried with their last owners.

535 This discussion of dancing would not be complete without
some comments on the dances today, since these are among
the main cultural events still attended by a large number of
my people. When you watch today's Indian dancers and
dances you can readily see how their roots came from the
[178] ancient dances I have just described. Like everything else in
life, however, many changes have taken place over the recent
[562] generations and times. Women take part in practically all the
dances. A few girls have been seen dressed in men's fancy
535 clothing, including breechcloths and headdresses, and per-
292 forming modern versions of the old-time War Dance. Others
have come out on the dance floor with buckskin miniskirts
and similar modern fashions. Even those wearing street-
clothes of pants and blouses are permitted, as long as they
have the mandatory shawl over their shoulders.

One of the pleasures of watching women at these current dances is that some come out wearing fine traditional clothing that is seldom seen otherwise. A number of women at Blood dances wear beautiful buckskin and trade-cloth dresses inherited from grandmothers who made them back in the old days. Others wear new dresses copied after these old-time ones. In recent years there has been a revival of traditional clothing styles, among both women and men dancers. Before that, the men often experimented with new styles inspired by other tribes and even other nations, while the women remained pretty much with their own tribal styles.

20: Hungry Wolf I-4,5 (no date) 1980
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535 The most common style of Indian dancing, nowadays, is
the modern War Dance, or Fancy Dance, in which the men
[178 do a lot of lively steps and gyrations. In the long ago the
women always just watched this kind of dancing. But today
562] women can be seen on the dance floor at every round except
those announced specifically for men only, which are usually
the contest dances. There are separate rounds of contest
dances for the girls and the women, during which the men
watch. Women are expected to dance with grace and modesty,
not with lively steps and gyrations. They are judged by the
smoothness of their steps, the flow of their hands and bodies,
and their overall appearances. Indian audiences used to be
amused when non-Indian ladies would make occasional appearances
on the dance grounds, trying to combine the fast
drumming with lively ballroom steps, and missing the point
of modesty and smoothness altogether. In recent times, however,
some of the younger girls have taken to newer dance
styles that are sort of a cross between those of the men and the
women. They often wear modernized styles of Indian dresses,
178 with long, thin fringes that accent their lively movements. A
533 few groups of girls and young women have even invaded the
traditional men's domain of powwow drumming and singing,
562 and won praise for their efforts. In the past, women with a
desire to sing the catchy powwow tunes had to be content
standing around the men drummers and singers and helping
them with high falsetto voices that often added hauntingly
beautiful harmonies.

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Here is a picture of my grandmother, AnadaAki, back in 1939. She was feeding my older brother, Black Eyes (Gilbert Little Bear). Against the log house sits her mother, doing beadwork. (PHOTO: HILDA STRANGLING WOLF)

A group of initiated women doing the Beaver Bundle Dance during the day-long ceremony inside a tipi. Mrs. Rides-at-the-Door is facing us on the right. (PHOTO: PROVINCIAL MUSEUM OF ALBERTA)

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796

[p.167]

20: Hungry Wolf I-4,5 (no date) 1980
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Blood

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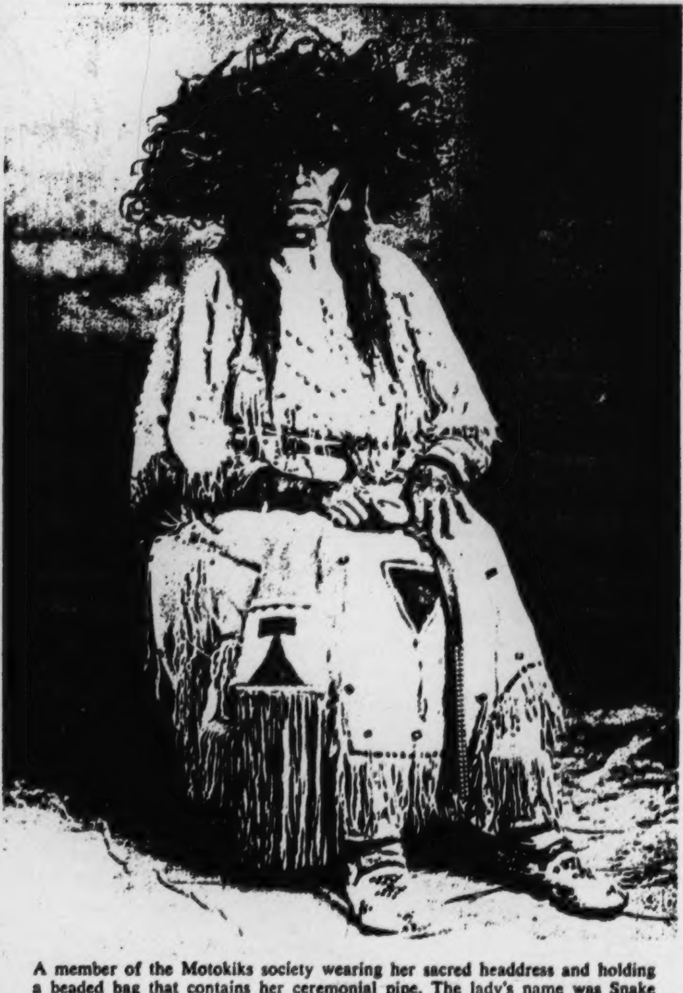

A member of the Motokiks society wearing her sacred headdress and holding a beaded bag that contains her ceremonial pipe. The lady's name was Snake People Woman, and the headdress indicates she was one of the Scabby Bull members of her society. During the society dances she was required to act like a mad buffalo bull, snorting and kicking at others. (PHOTO: NATIONAL MUSEUMS OF CANADA)

[535]

[p. 179]

> *that when their canvas was joined a double lodge* 796
> *was formed. At back end of the lodge proper,* 793
> *sitting in a row, were the old and new O-Kon*
> *women and the master of ceremonies* [Wilson [346]
> *means the holy women and the priest*]; *also the*
> *husbands of the women about to be initiated. In* 796
> *middle of lodge a hole had been dug 2½ by 3 feet* 778
> *square and 4 inches deep; the sod taken from it*
> *was piled around three sides and covered with* [824]
> *pine boughs* [*actually, boughs of creeping juniper*
> *—a species commonly found in our country; it*
> *grows close to the earth and is the sacred incense*
> *for Medicine Lodge ceremonies*]. *Bottom of hole* [531]
> *was covered with white clay in which had been*
> *drawn, an inch deep, this design* [*showing the*
> *main symbols of the Universe*]; *the bottom of all*
> *the marks was painted black by sprinkling in*
> *them black paint, the edges yellow. A cottonwood* [824]
> *tree was planted in ground to the left of hole.*
> *Tree 7 or 8 feet high. Upon the tree were hanging*
> *the head dresses to be disposed of.*

The hole Wilson describes was the incense 796
alter, representing our Mother Earth. The designs 778
indicated Moon, in the shape of a crescent; Sun; 531
Morning Star; and Sun Dogs. The black paint was
for Night Sky, the yellow paint for the Powers [822]
represented. The small cottonwood tree stood as a [824]
symbol of the Old People's main source of fire- [372]
wood, without which they would have perished.
In the midst of these spiritual symbols, the sacred
headdresses were hung. In addition, the leader of
the sacred ceremonies regularly made incense on
the altar, for its sweet smell symbolized the pres-
ence of the Holy Spirits.

Wilson continues:

> *Seven men rattled and sang, and the three* 796
> *old O-Kon women took each a root digger, and* 793
> *leaning upon them, dance upon their knees, rat-*
> *tling against the stick each a bundle of buffalo* [533]
> *toes* [*moose hooves*], *and at end of the song tied* [535]
> *the toes to the stick securely and in next songs* [237]

they, still keeping time, danced pointing the 796
sticks towards the clay [symbolically giving them 793
the Power of the sacred incense]. Sticks were
then put down and the candidates were robed in [533]
new clothes; an elk skin tanned on both sides is [535]
the proper robe for O-Kon to wear. Part of the
lodge was screened off [by blankets held up by [237]
some of the other participants], behind which [292]
. . . the re-dressing of the woman was done. At
this stage, relatives of one of the O-Kon women
[such as Red Crow's wife] brought in piles of dry
goods etc., and deposited them on the ground,
after which they were all gathered up by children
of the old woman who was installing her, and
taken away home.

There was more singing and rattling, during
which the holy women kept time to the rhythm.
The new holy women were painted by the old [302]
ones with sacred red earth.

Then the three older women [took] the head-bands from the tree and [danced] them towards the clay [for] 2 or 3 songs. Next they placed head-bands upon their own head, and [danced] on their knees towards the tree, which all 3 butted with their heads and grunted as they did so several times. [They were imitating the elk cow, who gave her Powers with the original Natoas after knocking down a cottonwood tree to prove her strength to her husband and to the dreamer.] Head-bands were then taken off and held by each woman in front of the younger one whom she was installing; and after dancing it there in front of her awhile and passing it 4 times around the younger's head, put it on and tied it in place.

Singing without rattles, three old men [hus- [302]
bands of the three retiring holy women] painted
the three O-Kon men black from head to foot,
with a yellow streak across the face and a yellow
ring around each wrist. [The yellow paint again [822]
represented the Above Powers, especially Sun.]

[p. 27-B]

Power that Sun passes on to all the creatures on 796
Earth. 791

On their way to the Medicine Lodge, the [535] ●
Weather Dancers made four stops. At each stop they intensified their holy thoughts and danced more vigorously, while the drumming and singing continued behind them. The People stood quietly before their tipis, watching the brightly colored dancers make their way around the north side of the Medicine Lodge and then enter through the large opening on the east side of the cottonwood boughs.

The Weather Dancers entered this sacred booth and sat down, facing the Center Pole and the entrance of the Holy Lodge at the east. The holy people followed and sat down on their robes at the northwest side. The drummers sat on logs at the southwest side and were soon joined by several old men who knew the ceremonial songs. People approached the Holy Lodge to see inside, so that the entrance was blocked. Others found places around the outside where they could look through.

According to our Old Man, who was a young boy at the 1892 Okan, the head Weather Dancer was Ki-soum, or Sun, still remembered as one of our finest holy men. Wilson often refers to this man by the name Moon. The other was a former Weather Dancer who had vowed to help Ki-
soum. Among the small bundle of things Ki-soum [276]
had brought into the Weather Dancers' booth
was a black-bowled pipe. He filled the pipe with [778]
sacred tobacco and handed it to the drummer
nearest the booth. The drummer raised the stem, [782]
prayed for the spiritual success of the People, lit the pipe, and passed it among the other drummers to smoke. It was then passed into the booth, where the Weather Dancers smoked quietly.

When the pipe was smoked out, Ki-soum [533]
signaled the drummers, who began to drum and
sing a Weather Dancers song. The Weather [534]
Dancers placed their bone whistles between their
lips and stood up. Raising their heads so they [535]

[p. 34-B]

could see the top of the sacred Pole, they blew on 796
their whistles with short blasts while they 791
bounced up and down with the drum beats.

Before them A was the center of the Earth, [533]
marked by the sacred Center Pole. From Earth it [534]
reached to the heavens above, symbolically connecting [535]
the two into one Universe. The bright
colors of the many offerings fluttered at the top of 796
the Center Pole, marking the place where Sky
and Earth met. The fork joint represented that all 772
the directions in the Universe are joined together by the Great Spirit to make One. The prayers of the Above Spirits were represented by Wind, which could be heard all around; the prayers of the Earth Spirits were represented by the rustling of the green leaves on the cottonwood boughs.

"Cheep—cheep—cheep—cheep," sounded the 791
eagle bone whistles as the Weather Dancers 796
rocked on the balls of their feet, accompanied by 535
the rhythm of the drumming and chanting. If a
cloud threatened to hide Sun's light, the intensity 789
of the dancing and music increased until the cloud passed out of sight.

I believe in this Power of Universal Harmony, [123]
for I experienced it myself during the Piegan Medicine Lodge celebration of 1972. The former Weather Dancer, an old man named Makes Summer, taught me the way to use spiritual power passed on from the long-ago. As dark rain clouds threatened overhead, the singing and dancing became more and more intense. The clouds finally separated and Sun shined brightly until the ceremony was over; not until then did it begin to rain. No one remembers a Medicine Lodge ceremony that was ever disturbed by rain.

Wilson brought his notebook and joined the 796
crowd around the Holy Lodge: 431

A,[i.e., the Weather Dancers--Analyst]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 35-A]

[p. 35-A]

ing the 1892 Okan, the agents sent word to the 796
People that participants in self-torture would 785
henceforth be jailed. They aroused outside back- 657
ing for their move by calling the ceremonies
"heathen rituals." The missionaries hoped that [177]
this ban would lead to an end of the Medicine [797]
Lodge ceremony itself. However, Medicine
Lodges continued to be built. Self-torture vows
were carried out in places that were not so public.

In writing and with his camera, Wilson re- 796
corded the details of the last ceremonies to fulfill 785
self-torture vows:

> *Next day nothing occurred until afternoon,* [575]
> *when some members of two Societies, "Crazys"*
> *[Wilson's own name for the Crazy Dogs, who*
> *were not actually crazy in any way]* and *"Black*
> *Soldiers," came out of their rows. At this, Sitting* [292]
> *Bull's son entered in the paint garb of the "self-*
> *torture" as follows: no clothing except breach*
> *cloth and a blanket wrapped about him. A wreath* [824]
> *of wild sage about the head, a ring of same about*
> *each arm and ankle. Painted with white dirt from* [302]
> *head to foot. He sat down upon his blanket and*
> *presently some one placed a pillow and quilt on*
> *the ground upon which he laid down. A man* 796
> *assisted by others put a skewer in each breast and* 785
> *a 3rd* [behind] *one shoulder. When he arose to* 304
> *his feet a shield was fastened to the skewer in the*
> *back and the ropes from top of centre pole, to the*
> *others* [on his breasts]. *He walked up and em-* [782]
> *braced the centre pole and silently prayed. Then*
> [he] *went back until the ropes tightened and,*
> *reaching around behind, grasped the shield, tore*
> *it from his flesh with a jerk and cast it upon the*
> *ground. Giving a yell, he next caught hold of one*
> *of the ropes in each hand and gave them a couple*
> *of good jerks which pulled the skin out from his*
> *breast several inches each jerk. Then he threw* [534]
> *back his full weight upon the ropes, having first*
> *inserted a whistle in his mouth, the string of it*
> *depending from around the neck. The drums* [535]
> *started up and the boy danced in time to their* [533]

beating; he danced in a curve about the north side 796
of the centre pole, blowing the whistle also in
time and looking up at the top of the lodge, 785
throwing more and more of his weight upon the 304
ropes [until] his body was almost at right angles [535]
to the ropes, tied far above him. As his weight
seemed insufficient to break loose the skin [533]
through which the skewers were, a man sitting
near quickly got up, threw his arms around the
young fellow's body, pulled backwards and tore
him loose. He lay upon the ground while one of
the attendants [not a priest or a doctor] cut away
the torn end[s] of skin which were handed to
him. He then arose to his feet and buried the said 796
piece of skin in the loose dirt at foot of sacred 785
pole, took off all the sage ornaments and hung
them upon the offerings of the sacred pole, and
went home. A young man named A-suc [Goes to
War] was also put through the torture and I succeeded
in getting a pretty fair photo of him, an
instantaneous one taken as he was on the jump in
his dance. When these young men are having the
incisions made in their breasts, they often whisper
to the operator stating how they wish the cuts to
be, deep so that there will be difficulty in getting
loose, or shallow cuts that will be easily broken.
Those who do the cutting make it a rule to do the [554]
reverse to what they are requested, thus they reward
the stout-hearted who say "cut deep" and
punish the cowards. The Ats-Knax Society [Itskinaiks, [575]
or Horns] furnished the music for this day. [533]
They sat at the back of the enclosure upon the
South side of the banner; the other, or North
Side of the banner was occupied by the women
who "made the lodge" and others.

Calf Tail and Goes to War were the first two dancers to fulfill their vows to suffer before the People, as just described. They had promised to "give themselves to Sun." Thus, the long rawhide ropes were attached to their breasts so that as the flesh opened, the blood nearest their hearts would flow upon the ropes. From there the Spirit

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up at Fort Benton, the main trading post for the [443]
Piegans in Montana. He worked as a teamster on [439]
bull trains (wagon trains pulled by bulls) over the
old Whoop-Up Trail between Fort Benton and
Edmonton, Alberta. During these trips, he got to
know the family of a Piegan named Red Tail
Feathers and his two Blood wives, Mountain Lion
Woman and Woman's Word. Among the children
of this family was Bird Rattler and AwokAki,
or "Smart Woman," who became Joe
Beebe's wife. Their only child was Grandma's Joe
Beebe. When the boy was born, AwokAki was [845]
not able to pass her afterbirth. Joe Beebe wanted [759]
to get the white doctor, but the wives of Red Tail
Feathers had no faith in him and insisted on doctoring
AwokAki themselves. She passed away
after six days.

Old Joe Beebe married again, but continued [736]
to provide for his two mothers-in-law. Mountain
Lion Woman raised little Joe for the first seven
years of his life. After AwokAki's death, this old [853]
lady took him to women who had babies so that
he could nurse from them. If they weren't available,
she made broths for him, letting him suck
on her own dry breasts for contentment. His continued
sucking finally caused milk to come from
her breasts, so that she was able to nurse her
grandson for some time. The old lady delighted in
showing off whenever visitors were around that
she could nurse the baby.

When young Joe Beebe was about seven, his [872]
father placed him in the Dunbow Boarding
School, where he stayed for most of the next
twelve years. Many other boys from this reserve
were sent to Dunbow. At the age of nineteen he [464]
returned to the reserve to work as interpreter and
scout for the Mounted Police. Although his [156]
speech and appearance led many to think of him
as a white man, he soon let his hair grow long
enough to braid and began to take part in the
frequent powwows. He became an excellent Grass [796]
Dancer, earning the right to dance with the [177]
Forked Stick during the Dog Feast, a ceremony [535]
our People had adopted from the Assiniboines.
[554]

[p.58-A]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

[Beaver Bundle Ceremony]

at the same time yelling in low voices. [More 796
songs.] *The two wives of the priests took a* 778
bundle of sticks from the sacred bundle and 533
swung them to and from the altar, keeping time.
[The cawing and pecking were actually imitations [825]
of ravens, not crows. The rattles were usually [534]
made either from buffalo rawhide or from scrotums
of buffalo. While pecking on the rattles of [237]
buffalo skin, the ravens sang, "The wind is our
Medicine—Powerful dead buffalo we want," referring
to the buffalo carcasses ravens feasted
upon after hunters finished butchering them.
When the singers first took up the rattles and
beat them on the rawhide, they sang, "My rattles
are Powerful." The sticks the women took were
probably extra incense tongs, which were kept with
every Beaver Bundle.]

In fourth song the two squaws got up and 796
danced around the room, one holding a root digger, 778
a stick sharpened at one end and one edge; [535]●
this was painted red as were all the implements.
Whistles were produced and tooted during the [412]
following songs. After three more were sung, [531]
Running Wolf took a pipe-stem and got down
upon his knees and bobbed about in which performance [534]
he was soon joined by his wife and [533]
Three Bulls' wife. With their blankets drawn up
around their heads, they kept up those singular [825]
antics, working their hands in imitation of the
beaver. That ended by all three people, 3 times
lowering their heads to the sacred bundle and
grunting several times, and then they took hold of
the outside covers and shook them as if to
frighten away a spirit. During all this time, [522]
"Moons" wife, who is a great wag, was cracking
jokes and making fun of almost every movement
of Running Wolf. [This part of the ceremony, 796
taken with light spirit, often evokes laughter 778
when the Old People leading the ceremony try to 781
imitate small animals at work. The amount of funmaking
at our holy ceremonies would probably
amaze a visitor. But our ceremonies are meant to
bring happiness and harmony, not gloominess and

[p.93-B]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

[Beaver Bundle Ceremony]

quite still with eyes closed searching his mind for 796
the tune. I saw him in this perplexity cause an old 778
man to bring a coal of fire to the altar upon which [533]
he [Running Wolf] made incense and then
passed his hands through the smoke and to his
head. . . . After a delay of 5 minutes his wife
found the song and hummed it for him, at which
he at once remembered it all and went on. . . .
He and 3 Bulls took the floor dancing and whistling; [535] ●
one holding a pipe-stem, the other a buffalo's [276]
tail. These articles they would exchange with
each other from time to time throughout the [237]
dance. They danced around to the altar and finished [782]
by handing the pipe-stem to 2 Bulls, who
put it to his lips and prayed and then handed it to
R Wolf. . . . And thus it was passed around the
house from right to left, each person as he or she
received it prayed with the mouthpiece to the
lips. It took 20 minutes to complete this circle,
the music was renewed as soon as the pipe
reached the women, at end of which incense was
made again. When the pipe-stem returned to the [782]
woman who had started it, she gave up a long
prayer and laid it in its place.

Many of the Indians prayed at me although [782]
not to me of course; they wished their diety to
give me a better heart, to make me more liberal;
some prayed that they and I should always be as
good friends as in the past. R Wolf held up the [825]
front of the hide covering the bundle to hide his
actions from view and soon the sound of a bull
keeping time with the rattles was heard. At 3:30 [237]
R Wolf, after 10 minutes of antics such as poking [531]
up the nose or head of the animal, exposed the
article he had been hiding, which was a large otter [534]
skin decorated with a scalp tied to the nose, and
bells upon the legs. The head was only stuffed.
This object he lifted up and rising to his feet
danced around the room to the women and
handed it to them. She prayed as usual and set it [782]
in place. Running Wolf returned and went
through the same performance with a large dried [237]
Beaver skin with tail and claws on.

During the next song the two women got 000

[p.95-B]

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[Beaver Bundle Ceremony]

During the next song the two women got 796
down upon their knees and Running Wolf's wife,
dancing in that position, held her blanket in such 778
a way as to catch one of her husband's rattles [535]
which he threw into it, at which the squaws both
took to their feet and danced around the room.
At 3:45, soda biscuits were passed around to the [262]
men; like all the food, this was sent around the [264]
room in the course of the sun, that which reached
those men sitting near the entrance made a com-
plete circuit. As usual a small bit was broken off a [782]
biscuit by each man and put upon the ground
with a short prayer, but in this case it was done by
the singers only. The women were also helped to
biscuits, and Moon's wife alone made offering to
the earth and prayed a lot of nonsense "at me."
Running Wolf exhibited a duck skin, and holding [237]
it up, he sang 4 songs, ending each with an imita- [533]
tion of a Duck's call; the rattles were not used
during those 4 songs. 4 squaws and Running [825]
Wolf got down on their knees and with their [535]
hands and arms over their heads, resembling
antlers, they made gestures of deer, while dancing
in front of the altar; at the end of each song, they
turned about without altering their body config-
uration; all got up at the end of the fourth song.

In the following, Running Wolf's wife took [535]
a large beaver skin, and placing it on her back, she
danced around; three women followed suit. . . . [237]
These hides were several times changed about
among the 4 women who danced completely
around the room several times, imitating the mo-
tions of beaver. . . .

At 4:20 incense was made; the assistant who
brought the coal of fire for the altar, this time
accidentally dropt it on the floor half way be-
tween the fire and altar; it was brushed to one
side and a fresh one obtained. 3 Bulls, I noticed, [824]
all day was chewing the bark of red willow, which
he bit from willow sticks he had. The fossil songs [533]
were now commenced, during which a fossil [an
Iniskim] *was produced by Running Wolf from*
the outfit. At end of one song he held it to his lips [782]
and prayed. . . . Incense. . . . The fossil was

[p.96-A]

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[Beaver Bundle Ceremony]

passed around and prayed to by all. . . . Incense 796
. . . . The common pipe was filled and handed to 778
Front Horn who pointed the stem to the Sun [782]
and made an elaborate prayer. . . . Incense. . . .
Then came a song in which the rattles were used [533]
in a different manner. Each musician held up one
above his head at arms length, shaking to keep [534]
time; then, all were lowered with handles touching [825]
the floor and the cawing of crows imitated.
Incense. . . . The event next in order was a feast [252]
of boiled rice which was handed around and
eaten without prayers or offering [because it did [262]
not represent a traditional food]. . . . Incense
. . . numerous songs and prayers. . . . Tea was [272]
given out in cups, bowls, and tin pans; the squaws
continued dancing. A rattle, made by stringing a [415]
number of buffalo toes to a stick by means of 796
holes bored in the points of the toes and leather 778
streamers through the holes, was thrown by Running
Wolf into the lap of one of the dancing 535 ●
women. The dancer was free to throw it to anyone, [534]
who then must get up and dance with it,
and, in turn, throw it to some other person, always [237]
of the opposite sex. The woman threw it to
"Moon," who got up, and after dancing around a
few times, threw it to Running Wolf's wife, who
responded and danced near me and threw the
rattle to me. Not caring to join the festivities to
such an extent, I threw it to an Indian near me,
who took the floor and threw the rattle to the
woman who had it first, who, in turn, deposited it
on the knees of Spotted Bull, who was still dancing
with it when music stopped, which seemed to
cause much merriment. Incense 7:25. Song and 796
prayer by R Wolf. More songs and dance by 778
woman. Each rattler, holding up a single rattle, all [533]
sang the closing songs from 7:30 to 7:35. Two
women faced the door and danced during these [535]
songs; at the 4th part, the door was thrown open [534]
and they danced out. The musicians knocked
rattles together in the air to close off the last song.

[p.96-B]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
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796
778
291
302
353
535

Mrs. Rides-at-the-Door, or Stealing-Different-Things Woman, hands one of the sacred skins to a representative of the museum, while Mrs. White-Man-Left continues to dance with a sacred skin. (Alberta Provincial Museum)

Woman doing a sacred Beaver Bundle Dance. (Alberta Provincial Museum)

[p. 102-A]

[Motokiks Society Dance, 1905]

292
778
575
237

Headdress of a Snake member of the Motokiks Society, on display at the Alberta Provincial Museum.

the other. The four singers use rattles and a raw- 575
hide of the same type as accompanies the beaver 796
bundle. They-sit west of the fireplace. [Spirit- [346]
ually, it is thought that Beaver Men in the long- [534]
ago contributed their rawhide and rattles to the
society, just as they contributed the Natoas head- [173]
dress to the Medicine Lodge and the sacred Pipe-
stem to the Medicine Pipe Bundles.]

All the women wear bone whistles suspended 575
by neck cords and upon these they blow while 796
they dance. They do not all dance at once, but by 535●
groups. Thus, the four scabby bulls rise and
dance. When they sit again, the feather bonnets [534]
[the Birds group] take a turn, etc. In all move-
ments the owner of the tipi pole has absolute
authority. . . . She wears a buckskin dress and a [292]
snake bonnet and sits to the right of the other
snake bonnet wearers. . . . The feather bonnets [237]

[p. 115-A]

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[Motokiks Society Dance, 1905]

are covered over the crowns with a mass of soft 575
bird feathers. They have tail pieces falling down 796
on the shoulders and bearing transverse rows of 535
small wing and tail feathers. . . . The scabby bulls wear war bonnets with horns and robes of [292]
cowskin, hair side out. They dance in single file, [237]
circling the Pole. First they rise and dance in their tracks, then move to the south side of the fire and dance, then to the west and then to the north. Next the snake bonnets rise with the tipi pole owner in the lead and dance in the same way. Next come the feather bonnets and finally the buffalo wool bonnets.

It is customary for persons who have made 575
vows or pledges during the year, if their prayers be 796
granted, to provide a feast of berry soup for the 782
ma'toki. At various times during the ceremonies a
pledger brings in a kettle of soup and some tobacco [262]
which is offered to the tipi pole owner with [264]
an announcement of the circumstances. Then the soup is dished out to the members and each and all pray for the pledger.

On the morning of the last day, before sunrise, 575
the ma'toki forms in procession and imitates 796
buffalo going to water. They seek out some depression
or low place in the prairie. As they drift [825]
along they segregate, as they do in the dance. At a place designated by the leader they all lie down like buffalo.

Now, it is customary for a man or a boy to [782]
have made a vow that he will "drive in the ma'toki" at their next ceremony. His sacrifice must be a horse and many presents to the owner of the tipi pole. This man then rides out as if looking for a buffalo. When he finds them, he builds a fire with cow dung to windward. As soon as the ma'toki smell the smoke, they rise. The driver then mounts and rides toward them, at which they start for their shelter. As they proceed, he rides on their flank. They trot to the shelter, but the four scabby bulls trail slowly in the rear. When the members get inside the shelter they run around the inside sun-wise until one by one

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 118-A]

source of food. A whistle makes the sounds for 778
the winds and all the birds that fly in the air. 825
Pouches of sacred Earth paints represent our 237
Earth Mother. Sweet pine needles, used for incense,
speak for all that is sweet and holy. The [824]
tanned elk hide wrapped around the Bundle testifies [534]
to the majesty of that animal. The tanned
skin of a black bear, wrapped around the elk hide, [823]
represents the physical power of bears and gives
the Bundle strength and protection. A plaid shawl
draped over all of these things gives the Bundle
privacy and symbolizes the Power of the changes
that have come to our Old Ways.

Sacred Pipes are smoked only during Medicine 778
Lodge ceremonies, and not at any other time 276
—not even during Medicine Pipe Bundle-Opening 796
ceremonies. When taken out of their Bundles,
they are not smoked but danced with. [535]●
Dancing is so important that many refer to our
Medicine Pipe ceremonies by the Blackfoot term
Ninamska-Paskan—Medicine Pipe Dance.

In the Old Days, when the People lived together in lodges, the Medicine Pipe Bundle was opened on the first day Thunder was heard in the spring. When this happened and it was confirmed in the home of a Bundle Owner that the opening ceremony would be held, the wife immediately began preparing the berry soup. Owner and wife would then change into their best dress and straighten out their lodge, which soon filled with relatives, friends, and all nearby Medicine Pipe People. If the Owner was not properly educated to open his own Bundle, he asked a former Owner to lead the ceremony.

Each Bundle had its own group of followers. 778
Those who formerly owned the Bundle always attended
all its ceremonies. Close relatives of the [425]
present Owner came, and the ones who helped
with the transfer payments were given spiritual
rights to parts of the Bundle. Others came because
they were interested in the special Powers
of the Bundle.

In the Old Days, members of a band trans- 778
[p.125-B] 432

[Medicine Pipe Transfer Ceremony 1890's]

done at S.W. where the other red plume is 796
placed, then N.W. and N.E. corners [in] which 432
are stuck the black plumes. Two small willow 778
sticks painted red, about 2 feet long, [are] stuck [824]
upright in the ground in front of and close to the
bundle, a third is tied across horizontally near
tops of them, four waves being made to altar before
each stick is placed in position. The mouth [237]
ends of the two pipestems are placed resting
upon this crosspiece, a stuffed owl is laid with it,
head also upon the crosspiece end of long wood.
A quantity of tobacco, generally a 3 lb. carrot of [276]
H.B.C. [Hudson's Bay Company, which was [439]
often supplied by Wilson from his trading post]
tobacco, is now divided up by host and a piece [782]
given to priest who, breaking off a small particle,
holds it out in front of him and, often giving a
short prayer to the earth, pushes the balance into
the earth. One of the old men present counts a [555]
couple of coups which are loudly applauded. Four [302]
children, or as many as the host has, or any child
relative whose parents wish it to be painted, are [852]
brought forward, and painted by Priest. All is now 796
ready for dancing which is started by Priest, who 432
takes some article from the Sacred Outfit, generally 778
the fancy stem of pipe, and dances around 535 ●
the lodge and out through the entrance. He often
has in one hand this whistle which he points up [534]
to the sun and earth, blowing as he dances, and
shaking the pipestem which has a great many
bells on it. After turning around outside he [782]
dances back through lodge and having danced
four times, hands articles to host, who prays to
them [or with them, as I have said] and puts
them in their place. After some chatting, the [533]
drums start up again and sing three songs and at
the fourth, one of those men present who have
owned a Sacred Pipe gets up and dances around
the lodge, dancing towards the pipe three times,
holding out his hands as if he would take it; the
fourth time he takes it and often one of the other
articles and dances with them in his hands. Each
man dances to four songs [actually one song, sung

[p. 128-B]

four times], then gives the articles to host as be- 796
fore. Sometimes 2 or 3 will be on the floor at 432
same time. One may have owl, or rattle alone; 778
they can suit themselves and take whatever they 535●
like. [Not exactly. Past and present Medicine [422]
Pipe Owners may select anything from the Bundle, but some persons who have never owned a Bundle may have had the rights to certain objects within a Bundle transferred to them. They can then always dance with those objects but not with
any other.] When using the whistle they begin at [533]
a high note and descend the scale with a continu- [534]
ous toot, toot, toot.

In making the first three feints to take the [201]
pipe, the dancer often retreats, dancing back around the lodge making the sign to kill (as if
stabbing with a knife). [This preliminary dancing [178]
Wilson describes is no longer done at all. Today, when a man gets up to dance he takes the selected object, prays, and dances four times.] They nearly all dance the same step in this ceremony, a slow, regular, vigorous jump with both of the knees bent; the tunes and songs used upon these occasions are not sung at any other time; the step in dancing is also peculiar to Calumet [Pipe] men. There is a preference shown for the owl, which is most often taken up and almost always prayed to by the dancer as he takes it in his hands, or the host when it is handed back to him.
[According to our traditions, the dead come back [825]
to visit the living in the bodies of owls. For that
reason owls are respected as being very Powerful, [775]
and many participants desire the spiritual
strength they get by dancing with one.] At one of 796
these dances, while one of the dancers had the 432
owl in his hands, I was amused to see a claw and 778
leg of the bird fall to the ground, at which all 787
present put on a very long face, thinking it a bad omen, and it is a strange fact that the owner of the pipe and host on that occasion died before the summer was out, his Calumet was buried with him, the stems lying on his breast. [Any accident that occurs during a sacred ceremony is con-

[p. 129-A]

sidered to be a bad sign. A piece falling from a 796
sacred object, an error made in the singing, a 432
rattle or drumstick dropped, or a person falling 778
down, particularly if caused by the negligence of 787
the participant, will cause the marked person to [789]
immediately ask some old man to call out four
brave deeds, in the hope that the old man's [555]
powers in times of danger will help prevent possible misfortune as a result of the accident.]

Sometimes a woman is allowed to take the 796
pipe at these dances and clumsily dances [*this is a* 432
gross interpretation of the smooth dancing done 778
by women; an ideal woman remains very dignified 535
during social occasions and does not dance with [562]
the glamour and obvious enthusiasm shown by
the men], facing a minute to each of the five [923]
points of the compass [*actually, four*]. There are generally some extra moves in the ceremony of unrolling the Calumet peculiar to each pipe; for instance in one case, before dancing, a squaw takes a drum stick and strikes two blows on each of the lodge poles that the entrance is between [*the spiritual purpose of this to notify the sacred lodge that loud noise, in the form of drumming, is about to commence*], in another case a forked stick is used to rest the head of the stuffed owl upon, this stick stuck upright between the other red willows.

The following narrative is also from Wilson's 796
notebook of the 1890s. He calls this story a 432
"Calumet Transfer." 778

When an Indian has once said that he will [127]
take the Sacred Pipe, he must not fail to keep his [626]
promise, for he is sure to be visited with misfortune should he so trifle with the Sacred. Nowadays a man names the day that he will pay the horses and be initiated. Formerly, it was customary to leave that to the owner and priests who would take him by surprise the night before the transfer was due to take place. The pipe is unrolled with the same ceremony as in Thunder

vendor's wives, supply. Vendor's wives chew 796
sweetgrass while they are dressing others. When 778
they are through the blanket is taken down. The 432
candidate is dressed completely in a new suit of [824]
clothes by vendor; this is done before his wives [261]
are dressed. Each garment is waved four times to
incense before being put on. Candidate now gets [824]
up and, passing behind pipe with fire stick in
hand walks out, stepping on four bundles of sage
the first four steps. A painted white horse is waiting [231]
outside which he mounts, and there is handed [531]
him the fancy pipestem, which he holds in his
arms. A priest leads off the horse, singing, to [533]
candidate lodge which the latter enters [candidate
enters his lodge]; a squaw brings back the [534]
horse, and priest returns with stem and owl [to vendor's lodge]*; 2 Priests and 2 others go outside* [vendor's lodge] *having in their hands both pipestems, owl, rattle, and whistles, they stand in a line and sing while the four drummers form another line behind and they all move off, singing, to lodge of candidate; front line dancing and singing forwards and backwards, at times facing around when they at last arrive at candidate's lodge. Front line goes in, drummers at once return* [to vendor's lodge]*, candidate at once comes out* [from his own lodge] *and, mounting horse which had been brought around again, he comes back to* [vendor's] *lodge and enters. As he enters, the drummers all take hold of a common pipestem and bow their heads low, still waiting, until he passes in, when they lift their heads and go to work at their drums.*

Now there is dancing for an hour, very much [535]
like Thunder Dance, but more of it, there sometimes
being four up at once. Head bands and
feathers are taken off. A blanket is now held up as [852]
a curtain, closing from view the man and boy.
The two priests take the front locks of hair of [302]
each [the man and boy] *and form a top-knot by* [237]
braiding out one braid in front and doubling it back upon itself and tying it with buckskin; a long strip of otter skin is wrapped around [the braided lock]*, making a long roll sticking out over the*

[p.130-B]

*face; while this is being done a third priest stands 796
outside holding the fancy stem towards middle of 778
blanket to time of slow beat of drums.* 432

*A blue bead and shell is tied on each top [302]
knot; the priests again chew sweetgrass, spit on [237]
their hands and rub them over heads of man and
boy after they have fixed the hair; head bands and [301]
feathers are now replaced. One priest now gets up [824]
with man and boy, man with fancy stem in his
hand; all face South then West then North and [261]
dance a minute to slow time in each direction, at [535]
which there is great applause.* [In the form of [152]
shouts and war cries. We clap our hands only to
accent our talking, not to applaud. The "applause" [554]
is to cheer the new Medicine Pipe Man
during his first ceremonial act as Owner.]
*Women do same, that is, candidate's wives and
two other women. All morning, relations of candidate [431]
have been bringing in household articles
such as dishes, fry pans, cups and saucers, pails,
also blankets, guns, and etc. and piling them up at
the entrance. These are now distributed by vendor
and his wife to their relations, probably giving
those who contributed when they were buying
the pipe years ago.*

*Pipe is now rolled up and the newly made
medicine man's wife carries it home on her back.*

Wilson learned the Ways of the Medicine 796
Pipe ceremonies quite well, although, as indicated 778
by my parenthetical comments, he occasionally [114]
made a mistake, or misinterpreted. The
following story, told by our uncle, Atsitsina, illustrates [115]
how well Wilson knew these ceremonies.
The story takes place during the Sun Dance Encampment
at the Belly Buttes in the 1920s.

*I will tell you the story of Long-Nosed Crow. 796
His name was Bob Wilson. He was just like an 778
Indian. He spoke the Blackfoot language just as I 177
am speaking it now. Everybody knew him. He
knew me and my father very well.*

*One time, when this big-shot from the States
called Schultz* [*James Willard Schultz, the author*

[Backside-To-The-Fire Pipe Opening Ceremony, 1972]

man, sat halfway back instead of way up front 796
where all Medicine Pipe Owners are supposed to 778
sit.

One more drummer was needed to start the [533]
ceremony. Our Old Man, sitting by the doorway,
volunteered to fill the vacancy. The physical efforts required of drummers would strain his old body. He knew that, but he wanted to help get the ceremony started. I helped him move over to sit on the first of the cushions arranged for the drummers in an east-west line.

Just before the ceremony actually began, old NinnaOnesta showed up. Once the ceremony begins, it is not proper to rearrange anything, but there was still time to have the physically stronger NinnaOnesta replace the Old Man.

The ceremony went like any other, with the
incense, praying, singing, and untying of the Bun-
dle. In the Old days, at least seven sets of seven [533]
songs would have been sung. But no one knows
all seven sets anymore. Today, usually the first [178]
set of seven is sung, and then part of the second
set.

After the Bundle was opened, we ate the [262]
sacred meal of fresh berry soup, as well as boiled
meat and eggs, crackers and cookies, and oranges and apples.

This pause lasted for about twenty minutes; [535]
then the ceremony continued with dancing done
in time to drumming and singing. During this part, participants were given an opportunity to express their own spiritual feelings about the Bundle. Anyone who had been initiated into the Spirit of our Medicine Pipes could get up and dance with an object from the Bundle.

The custom of dancing is different with this 796
particular Bundle, the Backside-to-the-Fire Pipe. 778
With other Bundles, only the men dance, while 535
their female relatives may dance in place to ac- 562
company them. Then, women dance with the sacred objects only to fulfill vows, standing next to the leader and bouncing lightly up and down; relatives accompany them, dancing in place four

times, facing each of the four directions. The 796
dancing party stands on a walkway made up of 778
blankets, quilts, and pieces of material given to 535
the Bundle's Owner afterwards. However, for this 562
Bundle, both men and women dance, one encouraging the other.

Before the dancing began, Emonissi took the 796
sacred Pipe outside the main tipi and prayed to 778
the Powers of the Universe. He returned and laid [782]
the sacred Stem on a rack, made up of three sticks
like a miniature goal post. The drummers began [533]
the introductory turn for the Medicine Pipe
Dance. All the songs, or chants, were accompanied [534]
by hard-soft, hard-soft beats on the rawhide-covered hand drums. The four drums used to be among the accessories of a Bundle, but no longer. Today, drums are usually borrowed.

During the introductory song, Mokakin got 796
up and prepared to be the first dancer. He went 778
up front and took a pinch of sweet pine needles 783
from the pouch next to the altar. Putting the
needles in his mouth, he chewed them, then spit [824]
a bit of them in his right hand, which he brushed [261]
down the left side of his body. He did the same with his left hand. Then he repeated the whole ceremony. Finally, he spit some of the incense in his hands, rubbed his palms together, then rubbed the soles of his moccasins a total of four times. He was now symbolically purified and ready to handle the sacred objects from within the Bundle.

One of the two Pipestems was very simply 796
decorated, while the other was more fully deco- 778
rated with the eagle tailfeather fan. The simple 276
pipe looked like the secondary Pipe and the latter
looked like the main Pipe, except for one feature. [531]
The secondary Pipe is usually more recently [237]
made; but here this simple pipe was very ancient compared to the one with the eagle tailfeathers. And indeed, Mokakin selected the much older, more simple Pipe, which was this Bundle's main Pipe.

Mokakin prayed aloud, holding up the sacred 796
778
782

[p.134-B]

Stem. He gave thanks to be able to pray with his 796
old Pipe once again and he asked for strength so 778
that he could pray with it again next year. He 782
asked the Spirits of the sacred Bundle to continue sharing their power with him and his family and all past and future Keepers of the Bundle.

After the prayer, Mokakin hummed a few 796
notes and the drummers took up the rhythm of 778
the song. Like other Pipe Owners, Mokakin had 535
his own special song for dancing; these songs [533]
come either from Teachers or from dreams.

Mokakin is a dramatic and spirited dancer. His basic style is to bend forward at the hips, loosen his knees, then take short jumps with both feet. With each jump forward, he turns a bit to the right or left. His left hand rests on his hip, while his right hand is extended before him, holding the sacred Stem.

As he danced by the others, he held the Stem [782]
towards them, giving its blessing. Some responded by reaching out with their hands, symbolically grasping the Holy Power, then holding it to their hearts.

Meanwhile, Ponah bounced enthusiastically to her husband's dancing, holding a corner of her shawl in each hand of her outstretched arms. As she bounced, she turned from side to side, and occasionally burst forth in the high-pitched tremolo of a woman's victory cry.

Each time the singing stopped, Mokakin straightened up, waiting for the next song. As he waited he caressed the Pipe and straightened out any tangled ribbons and feathers.

When the fourth song was over, Mokakin 796
walked over to the doorway of the main tipi and 778
handed the sacred Stem to his daugher, Theresa.
Because the topknot from this Bundle had once [422]
been transferred to her while her parents were the [432]
Bundle's Owners, she had the right to handle the
Pipe. Mokakin reached into his pocket and took [431]
out a couple of dollar bills, which he handed to
two male visitors. This was to show his generosity
and inspire good thoughts in the recipients.

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[Backside-To-The-Fire Pipe Opening Ceremony, 1972]

Ponah did the same thing to two women visitors. 796
Then Mokakin went up and took from the Bundle 778
the secondary Pipe. He carried it, dancing,
behind his daughter, who was holding the main [431]
Pipe. Ponah again kept time, and when the dance [535]
was over, all three again gave gifts to the visitors.

Theresa gave the sacred Pipe to her brother
Frank, also a former Owner. They danced side by
side around the fire while their father followed
with the secondary Pipe. This time Mokakin also [534]
carried the sacred rattle, shaking it and keeping
time to the beat.

After more gifts to the visitors, the sacred 796
Pipe was handed to someone else. And so it went, 778
the Pipe and dancing alternating among the men 535
and women until it was handed to one of the drummers, who asked someone else to drum in his place as he danced. When he finished dancing his four rounds, he unexpectedly brought the Pipe over to its Owner. According to tradition, the dancing was over, even though only half of the participants had been given a chance to dance.

Jim Twig then got up to begin the final part 778
of the ceremony. First, he gave each participant a 796
piece of old-fashioned twist tobacco. Each person 276
removed a pinch and held it aloft, while Emonissi
began a prayer. Everyone joined the prayer and [782]
then offered the pinch of tobacco to Earth. Next,
Jim Twig passed out packages of tobacco and
rolled cigarettes to all present. In the Old Days he [178]
would have handed out sacred tobacco, harvested during the previous summer, dried in the fall, and kept all winter inside some of the skins within the Medicine Pipe Bundle. When his supply was exhausted, he returned to his seat, ending the ceremony.

People picked up their blankets, gathered 778
their eating bowls and bags of food, and left the tipi. Emonissi and Jim Twig stayed seated, so that they could tie the Bundle back up. For this, no ceremony was required.

[p. 135-8]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

Later on the Fourth Day

Back at our tipi, we put away our blankets and other things, lay down in the shade, fanned ourselves, and drank lots of cool water. Getting water to the Sun Dance Camps used to be quite a chore in the Old Days, as there was no-accessible water source in the Belly Buttes. Nowadays, a truck with a full tank of cold well-water drives around the camp circle every evening so that people can fill their containers. 312

It was a clear, calm, middle-of-summer day; 575
the temperature must have been at least a hundred. 432
We heard someone singing. The song was
to honor the wife of Harry Shade, about to become [533]
a member of the Motokiks. Although it is [554]
traditional for this society to transfer memberships
as a group, a woman may make a vow to [782]
join if she learns that a present member is willing [422]
to part with her Society Bundle. As in this case, [424]
Noyiss, the wife of Henry Standing Alone, had
agreed to transfer her membership. We looked toward the Motokik's lodge, where we saw someone leading a fine horse with a pile of beautiful blankets on its back—all representing payments for the new membership.

Part of the Motokiks' transfer ceremony is 575
public and part is closed. We walked over to the 432
lodge to join a crowd of others to see what we 796
could through the two doorways and the lodge
covers, which were opened for all to see. Inside, [535]
three women were dancing in place. They wore [292]

[p. 136-A] [534]

you how we were "captured" when we took our 778
Pipe. 425

The Owner of our Pipe was Stabs Down. [123]
Our camp, consisting of our old Painted-All-Over
Tipi and a canvas wall tent, which served as a 778
cookhouse for the ceremony, was set up near 432
Stabs Down's tipi. But it was so windy during 796
the night that we didn't hear the singing when [346]
they opened the Bundle.

Our uncle, Atsitsina, who camped with us [343]
and served as our advisor, woke us early on the morning of the transfer. He was the go-between for Stabs Down and us to make sure that we were all prepared for the transfer. He made a final check to see that our blankets were properly fastened, then told us to wait quietly for the arrival of the capturing party, which, according to custom, we weren't supposed to expect. In the Old Days, we wouldn't even have known the day of the transfer.

Nevertheless, after all the months of learning, planning, and saving, and after the early trials and disappointments, we found it impossible to pretend that we were not moments away from taking on the most sacred duty in the Old Ways of our People. After all the listening and reading about the sacred Pipes of our People, we would soon begin living within the holiness and honor of our own Pipe.

We prayed and cried as the wind whistled through the top of our tipi and flapped the faded red cover.

While we prayed, the capture party arrived. From Stabs Down's tipi we could just barely hear the sounds of drumming. We had no idea who was gathered there.

Before us was White Horn, a relative of ours
also known as John Many Chiefs. The Owner
had chosen him to lead the ceremony. He wore a [292]
striped blanket across his left shoulder, holding [535]
out the sacred Pipestem in his free right hand as
he danced toward us. White Horn was once
Keeper of this Pipe, and its Spirit was with him as

[p. 138-B]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

[Medicine Pipe Transfer Ceremony, 1972]

he danced. He handed the sacred Stem to me, 778
then stepped aside, permitting the man behind 432
him to dance before us. This man carried the 796
secondary Pipe, which he gave to me. The third [535] ●
man in line gave me the wrapped owl skin; the
fourth man handed me the decorated whistle
and rawhide rattle.

The capture party spread out a blanket and instructed me to sit on it, holding these sacred objects next to my body. With the help of two young men, they all picked up the blanket, lifting me into the air. They carried me out toward Stabs Down's tipi, SikskiAki and Wolf Child following behind.

Atsitsina walked along, singing the ancient [533]
honoring song of our family's band, the Many
Children. He preceded each song by calling, in a [554]
loud, sing-song fashion, "Natosina, Ah-hey . . .
SikskiAki, Ah-hey . . . Makwi Poka, Ah-hey,"
and then he sang, announcing the sacred duty we
were about to assume.

I could hear the Old Man's voice, booming above the other drummers, singing in Stabs Down's white tipi as we approached it. On the way, the party stopped four times and gently lowered me to the ground. They carried me into the tipi as Sun moves, from east to west around the fire. The Owner's seat was vacant, south of the opened Bundle. SikskiAki and Wolf Child sat at my right. The leader sat to my left; he instructed me to replace the sacred objects in the opened Bundle between us.

The Old Man was very proud that his [576]
"grandchildren" sat in the place of honor next to
the sacred Bundle that had so long been his. He [533]
sang a rousing honoring song that silenced every-
one in the lodge. When he finished he took up his [534]
drum and beat a rolling introduction with his
drumstick.

The drummers began one of the Medicine 778
Pipe dance songs and the four members of the 432
capturing party danced with the sacred objects. 796
White Horn led the group, which included 535

[p.139-A]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

[Medicine Pipe Transfer Ceremony, 1972]

Arthur Healy and Jim Red Crow, both of whom 778
were former Owners of this Bundle, and Henry 432
Standing Alone, who once owned the Bloods' 796
Long-Time Pipe. Each of the dancers demon- 535 ●
strated his spiritual enthusiasm in his own way as
he danced the four rounds. Then the men handed
the sacred objects to SikskiAki, who accepted
their Spirit by brushing them over her body four
times. The objects were then brushed over Wolf
Child and me and were replaced in the Bundle.

The transfer ceremony ends when the retir- 778
ing Owner dances four rounds with the sacred 432
Pipe. During the dance, he goes outside to inspect 796
the goods offered as material payments for the
Bundle. If he accepts them, he gives the Pipe to
the new Owner. If he does not, he may either
sing a song, specifically requesting something the
new Owner should sacrifice, or he may instruct
the leader to close up the Bundle and call off the
transfer. He would do the latter only if the pro-
spective Owner's lack of material sacrifice was a
mockery. No one remembers such an occurrence
in recent times. However, there was once an inci-
dent when specific horses were requested by the
retiring Owner of our People's Long-time Pipe.

Old Stabs Down is often considered the pre-
vious Owner of our sacred Bundle. He is a man in
his mid-seventies, although he appears much
younger. He speaks very little English and he is [191]
among the more traditional of our People. But he
likes to point out that some people mistake him
for a non-Indian because of his light features. Un- [184]
like others who prefer the Old Ways, his herds of [231]
cattle and horses make him one of the reserve's
most successful ranchers, and in his house he has [207]
one of the few color television sets among our
People.

The real Owner of our Bundle was Stabs
Down's teenage son, Wallace. He was the one to
dance outside and inspect the goods we offered.
Wearing a striped Hudson's Bay blanket and [292]
holding the sacred Pipe, he danced the first two
rounds of the "inspection song." During the sec-

[p.139-B]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
NF6 Blackfoot NF5
Blood

[Medicine Pipe Transfer Ceremony, 1972]

ond round he danced outside where our relatives stood with some of the goods we were giving up. Our main payment was to have been seven horses; several we owned, the others we would buy. Due to a misfortune in his family, however, Stabs Down sent word to us sometime before the transfer that he would rather have the money for those horses we hadn't yet bought. So we offered a thoroughbred quarter horse and a good mare with a colt. Instead of the other four horses, we offered a large number of twenty-dollar bills sewn to a large Hudson's Bay blanket, according to custom, and also a large pile of blankets, clothes, and dry goods. 778 432 796 [436] [435]

SikskiAki and I held our breaths, hoping that all our spiritual hope and enthusiasm would not be let down for insufficient material payments. It had taken us some time to gather what we offered. After a brief look at our things, the Owner turned slowly and danced toward us as the drummers took up the inspection dance song again. At the end of the song, young Wallace stopped before us and handed the sacred Pipe to me, saying, "You got yourself this holy Pipe." Then he turned around and walked to his seat by the doorway. [535] ● [533]

With that simple gesture we were given the key to our long-time dreams. We now had the [424]

[p. 140-A]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

✓

[Backside-To-The Fire Pipe Transfer Ceremony, 1972]

After the sacred objects were replaced in the Bundle, the singers began the inspection dance song. Jim Twig took the sacred Pipe and danced outside to see the payments. To make their grandson's transfer successful, both grandparents had amassed four nice horses, a new Winchester rifle, a couple of blankets covered with bills, and a huge pile of blankets and dry goods. When Jim Twig came back inside, he danced up to young Weaselhead, handed him the sacred Pipe, and said, "Oki, here is your holy Pipe." 796 432 778 [435] [436]

The transfer is completed after the new Owners have had their faces painted. Two men held up a large blanket to shield the painting from the view of others. The drummers sang while Henry Standing Alone stood outside the blanket and held the main Pipe over the blanket, jingling its tiny bells above the head of the new Owner. The topknot and headbands were fastened on by the leader and his wife. Then the leader and his wife exchanged new clothes with the new Owners, to symbolize the rebirth of the Owner and his wife. In the Old Days, these new clothes would have been made of finely decorated buckskin. Today, except for handmade moccasins, the new clothes are store-bought and are seldom worn at the exchange. Often, only blankets are actually exchanged and worn. [302] [301] [292] [178]

After the blanket was taken away, the ceremony continued. A procession of people came [535]●

[p. 141-B]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

[Backside-To-The-Fire Pipe Transfer Ceremony, 1972]

into the tipi to take turns dancing in place with 796
the sacred Pipe. These were people who wished to 432
share the Pipe's spiritual powers; and for the 778
privilege of dancing with the Pipe, they contributed [535]
some blankets and dry goods. The first group
was young Weaselhead's relatives. They placed [424]
the blankets and dry goods around the fireplace in
a semi-circle, dancing on them and facing the four
directions. After each dance, the material was
given to the former Owner and considered part of
the payment.

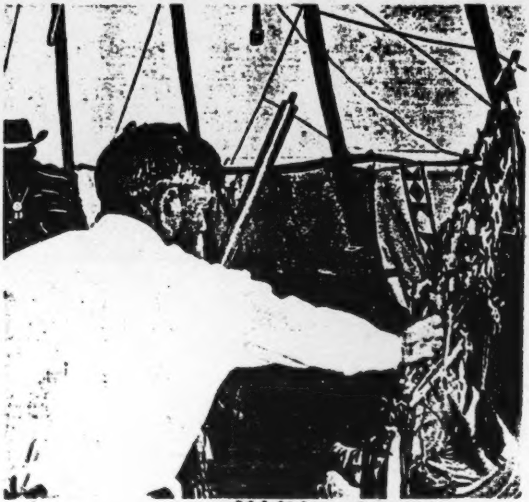
After the relatives, some members of the 796
Magpie Society came in. Fred's late father (Pat 432
Weaselhead, Junior, son of Mokakin and Ponah) 778
had been a member of the Magpies. Upon his 575
death, his comrades had taken his son into their
society as a junior member, as was the custom.
For ceremony, they danced and then gave their [535]
walkway of blankets and dry goods to the Bundle's
former Owner. The last group to come in
and dance in the same way were members of
young Weaselhead's social society, the Kaispaiks,
or Grass Dancers.

After the last dancer, the Bundle was folded 778
up, but not tied, and taken to the new Owner's 796
tipi for the remainder of the ceremony. The 432
woman has the honor of caring for the Bundle,
not only at home but also when moving it. She
carries the closed Bundle on her back, following
the leader and her husband.

Due to the uncomfortable heat that day, a pause was taken until later in the afternoon, when the mountain breezes would blow across the campground. We went back to our own lodge to rest and relax.

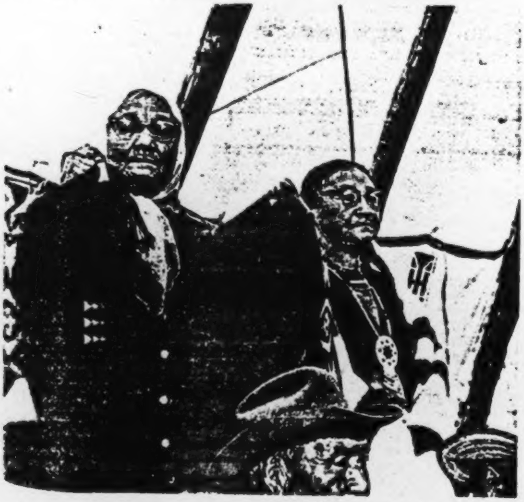
It was almost suppertime when the crier [203]
came around to announce that the Bundle would
be closed up. He reminded the participants to [415]
bring along their bowls to share in the meal the
new Keeper's family would provide. The new [264]
Keeper's tipi was soon filled with visitors, most of
them former Medicine Pipe People. Berry soup [262]
and other foods were dished out, prayed with, and [782]
eaten. The atmosphere was now very relaxed. It

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood



796
778
535●
276

Mokakin's sacred dance. Joe Young Pine stands in back.



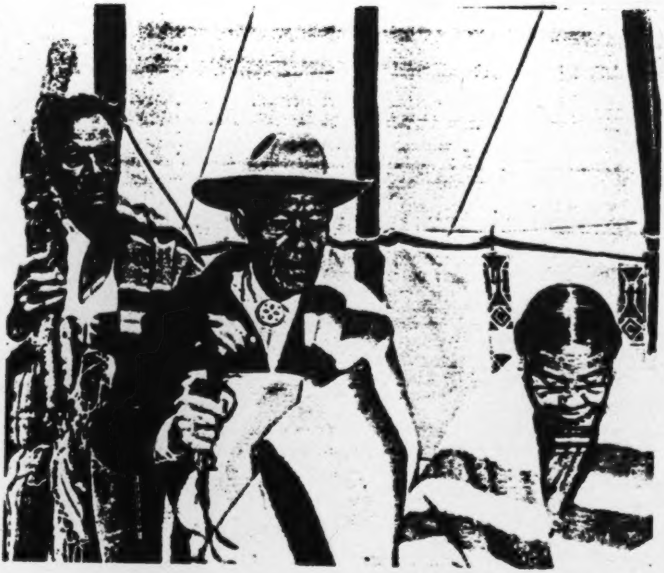
796
778
142
292
301

Giving encouragement to Mokakin during his dance is his wife, Ponah, and her sister, Mrs. Red Crow.

[P.153.B]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

796
778
534
237
292
● 535



Frank Red Crow, dancing with the sacred rattle. He is being helped by his wife and by Mokakin, who holds the owl skin. The Red Crows bought new Hudson's Bay striped blankets to wear for this ceremony.

[P. 154-B]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

[Horns Society Transfer Ceremony, 1891]

stooping as before, the squaw bringing up the 575
rear. 796

The same ceremony was gone through with 432
the 4 large war bonnets, but the latter moved in a direction contrary to the course of the Sun while
the others followed it. The candidates were at [782]
once dressed in their new clothing and Running Wolf, Bear Back Bone and another stood up in a row as before, while White Calf 4 times prayed aloud that the rain should not fall. The blanket Bear Back Bone had received was folded up and laid upon the ground. Its owner took a kneeling position, facing it. White Calf made a pass with both hands from the altar to Bear Back Bone's head, one to his shoulder, a 3rd to his waist and the 4th to his hips, giving this time a gentle push at which Bear Back Bone jumped nimbly over the blanket without altering his stooping position. He sat upon the blanket while Running Wolf was put through the same maneuver, then all ditto.

This finished the installment of the new 575
members and now they prepared for the dance. 796
Four drums we brought in and deposited at the
middle of the circle, and the head-dresses were all 432
placed upon their new owners. An old Chief 535●
"Morning Paper" [Morning Writing] counted 4 [555]
coups, and the drummers struck up at once. All the staffs were pulled up and all the men, new members, old, and instructors, jumped to their feet and the dance began. The step was one peculiar to the Society, and a rather lively one for some of the older men to perform. They held their poles in front, lowering the tops to about an angle of 45 degrees. At intervals they would reverse all together and dance facing the low wall of the enclosure. They all made a continual peculiar sound, something between a coo and a low shout and in time to the drums. The dance lasted about 4 minutes, during which they reversed 4 or 5 times. Next they formed a procession, led by one wearing a large war bonnet which had an arrow sticking in head piece. They danced towards the entrance. As many times as the leader reversed, all

[p.206-A]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

[Horns Society Transfer Ceremony, 1891]

followed suit; after many times turning about, 575
they approached the entrance and the leader went 796
out and the procession followed in the form of 432
one irregular column with the squaws bringing up 535
the rear, carrying the short staff. They danced
towards the east and between the lodges until,
when quite outside of the camp, a halt was made
and the procession reformed. Running Wolf
mounted a white horse and the second leader of
the Horns mounted a dark one. These two riders
took positions far in the lead, about one hundred
yards ahead, and the same distance from each
other. Fifteen of the others formed a line; behind
them walked the 4 drummers in a second line,
and the women as before brought up the rear in a
third line. Midway between the line of men and [237]
each rider was a dismounted man; one of them
had in his hand an Indian standard, an otter skin
[actually a fisher skin] decorated with beads and
bells. They marched in this way around to the
Southern side of the camp, the drums beating
time but not loudly. When about ¼ the distance
around the camp had been made, or when they
were opposite the South side, they halted and
danced a few minutes. The mounted men dismounted
and danced where they stood, their
horses being held by boys. The march was renewed
as before. A second halt and dance at the
West, a 3rd at the north and a 4th at the East,
the spot where they had first formed a line, completed
the outside of the camp march and they
prepared to reenter the camp by taking the same
positions and formation as when they came out.
Dancing all together, the tom-toms beating
loudly, they returned to the centre of the camp
space.

Their enclosure had in the meantime been 575
taken down and carried away, but they all sat 796
down near where it had been and in about the 432
same positions that they had held inside of it.
The 4 large war bonnet wearers took them off and
hung them up upon their short staffs. When they [271]
had been sitting, resting for half an hour, a

[p. 206-B]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

[Horns Society Transfer Ceremony, 1891]

themselves to be publicly kissed. In fact there was 575
not a smile upon the face of any of the actors, 796
nothing to suggest anything other than a religious
duty, but I could not restrain a smile as I saw 432
Spotted Bull, who is a notorious wag, solemnly [832]
kissing the wife of Mas-tak-ath who is one of the
most handsome women in the tribe. White Calf [782]
stood behind two men and a woman, facing the
East, and shouted aloud a prayer. They then
faced the South, he prayed again; changing to the
West again, he called out a prayer and finally
repeating with faces to the North they all sat
down.

A group of women and old people, not members of the Society, were sitting near the circle of 575
dancers, for the purpose of having prayers 796
shouted over them. The dancers stood close to 432
these sitting people and facing them always so 535●
that they had to move in a circle themselves in facing the 4 different directions. This performance was repeated by two other parties of four persons each. Next a dance was indulged in. The main party danced in a circle around those sitting on the ground, being led by one with the arrow in his war bonnet. The other three with large headdresses danced outside of the rest and circled in the opposite direction, and against the Sun. The speed was increased to a fast hop and then the leader stopped suddenly and without turning hopped backwards 5 or 6 times for perhaps half of the circle, during which they reversed as often as they halted. After a brief pause the dance was repeated and, in all, it was done 4 times; then all
sat down. Running Wolf's crook was carried over [555]
to some old men who sat about 50 yards to the north of the party; one of these took Running Wolf's crook and counted 4 coups. The drummers beat an applause or response after each coup and the crook was carried back to its owner. The same was done for the second leader.

After a rather extended rest, they all got up and the closing dance was performed. "Little Shield," the wearer of the war bonnet with the arrow in it, not being an active man, handed his

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 210-A]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

[Horns Society Transfer Ceremony, 1891]

head-dress to Spotted Bull, because the final 575
dance had to be led by the regalia. Around the 796
circle they rapidly hopped. The Leader was 432
closely followed by two of the other large war 535 ●
bonnets, the 4th one along circling in the opposite direction and outside the rest.

A dense crowd had gathered about the dance by this time. After dancing around the circle several times, the leader made a feint to go through the crowds of people at the east and each time he came around he danced a little closer, being driven back through by the boys and young men who shook their blankets at him as they would at an animal. Someone handed Spotted Bull a rifle and the next time he came around to the East, he, still hopping, charged right at the people. Blankets were shaken in his face and the crowd did not give way for him until he fired a shot over their heads, at which all fell back allowing the procession to dance out into the open ground. The assembled crowd now dispersed.

The Society returned to where they had been 575
sitting and waited there until the lodges of two of 796
their members were taken down in the camp and [346]
moved over to them by the women. The members
then took charge of the material of the two lodges
and out of it constructed one big oblong lodge
into which they entered. This was their permanent abode for the remainder of the time the
Bloods were in camp. This society did not dance
again, but religious duties and the rites were per-
formed by them every day afterwards. Such is the [784]
dance of the mysterious order of Atskiniax, about
whose sacred rites the middle-aged will talk in
whispers to you, telling you every few minutes
that it is very dangerous to talk about it at all.

OUR OWN HORNS TRANSFER

The new Horns have made a concerted effort to 575
regain the respect of the People and to learn as 786
much about the Ways of their society as they can
from former members who are still living. They

[Horns Society 1935]

the Horns Society members and the Motokiks 796
assembled, standing in a line outside the Horns 575
lodge, and chanted a song. Then came an announcement. Low Horn spoke: "Okaha-aaai! In the coming morning the Horns are going to have a dance. This coming morning the Motokiks will build their lodge. Medicine Pipe Owners, Beaver Bundle Owners, Pigeons, and All Brave Dogs—get yourselves ready to beat your livers! [An ancient expression which meant to have an exciting dance.]

*In the morning I took my team and my wagon and with some members and another, empty wagon, we all went to Cree Speaker at Stand Off.
[Cree Speaker was a white man named McNeill* [443]
who could speak the Cree language. He had a general store and post office on the west side of the Belly River, at Stand Off.] The monies were $400, so we took some grub with $100, then we drove back. The place where we were going to have our dance was already staked out, so the grub was unloaded there and the wagons were taken away.

Then we went inside the Horns lodge. There, [302]
we untied our Society Bundles and painted all the Staffs. . . . We bound them, fixed up our headdresses, and painted our faces with yellow paint. . . . I painted my face with yellow paint and with red painted streaks across my face.

The drummers came in and sat inside the 796
door. They sat with their backs to the fireplace [be- 575
cause they were not current members] and then 535
they sang. . . . As they sang we danced out the door and formed a line outside. . . . We danced forward four times and then we danced to the east exit of the camp circle. With the black horse on the outside and the white horse on the inside toward the camp circle, the riders mounted and we went forward. . . .

The leader walked on the South side, behind the rider. He owns the headdress that was shot in the forehead. [This is the dance leader, not the

[p. 212-A]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

[Horns Society 1935]

society leader.] The White-Arch-Staff owner rode 796
in front. [This is the staff wrapped with a white 535 ●
swan skin and carried by the society's leader.] 575
The owner of the Arm Band rode across behind.
[This is the secondary leader of the society.] The
riders dismounted and we all danced. . . .

The riders walked their horses real fast. The drummers walked behind. Behind the drummers are the Horn Society women [wives of the members] on foot. Behind them are more riders; they are just mounted spectators. . . .

When we got all the way around the camp circle we danced back in at the east side. The leader danced in front. We danced four by four. We got up to the double-lodge on the fourth song, and the singing stopped. We stood in order. We all had tipi pegs and an oblong stone ready. Everyone was hammering pegs into the ground [to make holes] and then we all stuck the arch staffs into the holes. . . . We all put our robes behind the staffs and everybody sat down in order. The women sat in the centre.

Now the grub. There was a cow that was [262]
slaughtered, and some berry soups, and there
were some white-man fruits to make puddings. [264]
The Horns distributed the food, and after everyone ate we got up and danced. The People who
made vows to dance with Horns Society staffs
danced with a staff. The Horns danced four times [431]
and they stopped dancing, and then they gave
away the things that they received. [A person who [432]
vows to dance with a certain staff will give its [424]
owner some kind of payment for getting to share
the Power of that staff.] After we gave away the [782]
stuff, the staff owners pulled out their staffs and
pegs. When a staff is pulled out, a pinch of tobacco is put in the hole and then the hole is [276]
tamped shut. . . .

Next, we went outside where a crowd of spectators formed around in a circle to watch the dancing. The leader led us around in the dance. There were a lot of girls and boys standing, watching on the east side. This is the time when the

[p.212-8]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

[Horns Society 1935]

leader took a rifle. Nobody saw it. It was wrapped; 796
it was hidden. . . . 535

On the fourth dance [each dance consists of 575 four rounds within the circle] *we all stood in line. . . . During the start of this fourth and final dance, the leader danced in zigzag motion; he danced just like as if he was dodging enemy arrows. The children, boys and girls, threw ma-* [237] *nure at him. The leader continued dancing in zigzag motion, dodging from side to side, and the dancers behind him performed in the same manner. . . . Our leader was Low Horn. He danced just like as if he* [was] *going to charge. He danced a little ways out and then he turned and retreated. Then he danced right into the midst of the children before he was forced to turn back. The boys and girls were throwing manure at him. He was moving his head from side to side so that the manure would not hit him on the face. The manure was not thrown with full force.*

Low Horn danced around again, holding the rifle in front of him, pointed up. . . . As the children were screaming, he danced right into the midst of them. He fired a shot and the children all fell down just as though they were killed.

The Horns members walked through the fallen children to the lodge, where we stuck our staffs into the ground, and then we wiped off our facial paints.

OTHER SOCIETIES

Today the Horns and Motokiks are the only tra- 575
ditional societies still active among our People.
We don't know that any other women's society [178]
ever existed, but men used to have several to join, [561]
according to their age group and their experiences as warriors and leaders. Let me give you a brief Teaching about these societies so that you will understand how our People were motivated to form them and why they have respect for them.

[p. 213-A]

around them. The societies for older men were 575
chosen for these duties. 625

There were seven men's societies in the Old
Days. Together, all their members were known as [361]
Ichkunakatsiiks, or "All-Comrades." These societies
included the Mosquitoes, Braves, Crow- 575
Carriers, Brave Dogs, Horns, Black Soldiers (or 561
Black Seizers), and Bulls. In later years of the
Old Days, the Bulls Society became extinct, while
the Pigeon Society formed in its place. The
youngest groups were the Pigeons and Mosquitoes;
the oldest were the Horns, Black Soldiers,
and Bulls. The ultimate in a warrior's life was to [554]
have been a member of all the societies.

The younger societies were mainly social.
The Pigeons were originally boys who had not
gone on any war raids. By the time they had been
on a few, they usually became members of the
Mosquito Society.

The Mosquitoes are said to have originated [787]
in the dream of a man who lay naked out on the
prairie and let swarms of mosquitoes suck blood
from him. While he was unconscious afterward, a
mosquito came to him and gave him the society
for his generosity. Each member would wear an [237]
eagle claw upon each wrist, to represent the
mosquito's bill. During ceremonies, the members [626]
would use the claw to scratch those who got in
their way. Anyone who resisted their symbolic [796]
scratches would be fallen upon by all the members
and severely scratched.

Each society had a ceremonial dance, during 575
which the members had their faces and bodies 796
painted and wore their society insignias. The significant [535]
part of the Braves' ceremonial dance was
the end, when all the members ran north out of
the camp circle and threw their moccasins into
the air to symbolize the discovery of a buffalo
herd. It is said that one time the barefoot mem-

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

575

Blood members of the Braves Society at Lethbridge in 1886. In the foreground are three of the society's four lance-bearers. Most of the members carry spears and paint their bodies symbolically. The Bear Braves are standing at the back (there seem to be five, although there should only be four). (Glenbow Archives)

[411]
[302]

Dance of the Pigeon Society (or Doves) as seen in 1907. The members are dancing in a circle. Each one carries a bow and arrows, and his body is painted. The photographer's feet can be seen in the foreground; he took these photos without permission while lying down as a spectator. (Glenbow Archives)

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[411]
[302]

[p.216]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

Grass Dancing

Our People have always been willing to accept the 177
Ways of other People if they could be fit into our 796
traditions. In that manner we adopted the Grass 535
Dance, traditionally an important function
among the Omaha People, apparently celebrated
by their Central Plains neighbors for many years.
A ceremonial dance with many symbolic details, [789]
its purpose was to spiritually encourage the prairie
grass to grow tall, which would mean more food
for the buffalo. That's why it became known as
the Grass Dance. The dance was eagerly adopted
by other tribes, including the Crow, Sioux, and
the Assiniboine (from whom our People obtained
it).

During the final years of the war days, a 173
Blood man named Sitting Bull led a party to the 177
east to raid the Assiniboine People. The Assini- 796
boines are relatives of the Sioux, or Dakota, 535
People, whom we commonly call Parted-Hairs, 721
due to their custom of parting their hair down the
middle. They hid themselves in the brush on top [416]
of a nearby hill, watching the camp through Sitting Bull's field glasses to decide on a strategy to raid it.

When evening came, the Assiniboines did not go into their lodges, but instead gathered in a circle inside their encampment. One man went out behind a lodge and took down from a tripod a large drum, around which several men gathered. They began by beating a fast, steady rhythm. Soon dancers emerged from the lodges. Their

[p. 219-A]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
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Blood

dress and actions reminded the Bloods of prairie 173
chickens during mating season: they stooped low 177
and shuffled their feet quickly, while swaying 796
their bodies slowly from side to side. In this man- 535
ner they approached the drum from all directions. 721
When they had gathered around the drum, the
drummers began a slower beat, to which they
sang a pleasant song.

Sitting Bull and his party watched and listened all night long. By the time the dance was over it was too late for the party to attempt to raid the camp. The following night the same thing took place again. By this time some of Sitting Bull's men began to sing along with the songs to amuse themselves.

It was not until several nights later that Sitting Bull and his men raided the Assiniboine camp. Sitting Bull went straight to the tripod and took down the drum, which he brought back home with him. The party captured a number of horses and returned to the Blood camps safely. With the songs they had learned on the hillside, and Sitting Bull's captured drum, they introduced the first aspects of the Grass Dance among the Bloods.

Our People learned more about the Grass 535
Dance after the days of raiding enemy tribes were 439
over. Robert Wilson photographed a group of
visiting Assiniboines in 1891, while they were ex- [422]
changing the songs and regalia of the Grass [424]
Dance with our People for horses. Such exchanges

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 221-A]

[P. 219-B]

21: Hungry Wolf   F-4,5   (ca. 1972) 1977   NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

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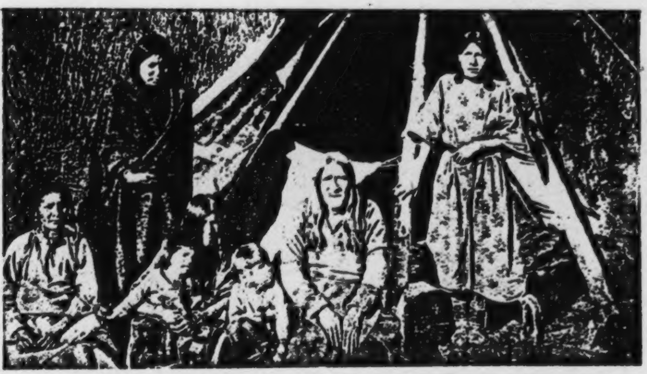

[796] [785] Sitting Bull—the Blood—with his two wives and his children. The boy at the left later became one of the last four men to fulfill self-torture vows, during the 1892 Medicine Lodge ceremony. This scene was taken around 1880, and must have been of a hunting camp, due to the unusual crudeness of the tipi poles and cover. Among his sons were Calling High and Jim Wells.

A group of visiting Assiniboine men wearing Grass Dance regalia, which they traded for Blood horses in 1893. Blood spectators are watching the dance in the background. Assiniboine singers are seated around the drum in the foreground. (R. N. Wilson)

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also probably took place with others, like the 535
Crows and Piegans. The most important Grass 439
Dance items were two feather belts, or "Crow
bustles," which were transferred just like other [292]
Medicines. They are still among our People at [778]
this time.

Two aspects of the Grass Dance Society did [425]
not endure very long among our People. One 535
concerned the eating of dogs, which was a custom 575
among those who originated the dance, but was 177
despised by most of the Bloods. The other concerned
the method of joining the society. Old [262]
members would elect new members, rather than
bringing them in by transfer. As an exception, [424]
memberships were transferred among those owning
important pieces of dance regalia. But
eventually it all became a social affair, without
memberships of any kind.

Grass Dances were held either outdoors or in 535
dance houses, which were special log buildings. [345]
Atsitsina tells this story of one place, down along
the Bullhorn River, called Black Place to Dance.

I have been to dances on a lot of different 535
reservations. . . . We have different songs for 533
different kinds of people who come to the Parted-Hairs Dance [Grass Dance]. We will have a song and dance for a very brave man, also for a person who got wounded; for a person whose horse got killed in battle; for a person that got beaten; for a scared person; for a person who has had many wives; for persons that gave many presents; and one for a person who has cut a horse from in front
of an enemy's door. The last song was usually for [655]
those who were wounded in battle; they are the ones who lead the others out of the dance house after reenacting their war experiences.

Those long knives—some of the members car- 535
ried long knives [swords] originally taken from 626
the enemy. A person that doesn't want to dance
will get slapped on the leg with the long knife. [411]
But if they get slapped too hard then they are [431]
given a present. . . . And there is a whip. Once
it was used to whip Crow horses. We got it in a [721]
raid and we used it for getting people up to dance.

[P. 221-A]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
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Blood

[Grass Dance]

raid and we used it for getting people up to dance. 535
A person will make a vow—it is very hard. A 535
person will say, to get better or whatever, that he 796
will eat a dog. We don't usually eat dogs. . . . [782]
On the day of the dance a pup will be boiled.
The dog is taken out with a special forked stick [262]
and an eagle feather is used for licking the dog. [412]
The one that made the vow, he will provide all
the food, just like at our Nighttime ceremonies.
The dance hall will be filled with people. Eight
people who will eat the dog will be sitting at the
front. They will pray and count coups. Then the [782]
ceremony will begin.

First, two handsome men will pick up the boiling kettle. . . . We will sing and the two men will dance around the circle four times. On the last time they will pick up the kettle and bring it to the front and set it down before the eight men. Everyone will watch very quietly. The dog will be really soft-boiled.

When the kettle is set down, the eight men [626]
will pray and make oaths that they are telling
the truth. The first one who eats will eat the dog's [825]
head. It is the most Powerful. In the Old Days
when we were really mad and we killed an enemy, [266]
we used to eat some part of him—that is what
the Old People used to say. That is why we are [101]
called Blood Indians—we only quit when we are
all bloody. . . .

If some of the younger men can't stand to eat [431]
any of the dog, they will ask an older man, "Will you eat this for me? I will give you a horse." They paid a good horse or other goods to have someone eat the dog meat for them. We will sing four times. Everyone will get up after each song and shout [a war yell]. They will raise one hand. After the second song they will raise both hands. Then they will take the dog out of the kettle.

The last time I saw a Grass Dance, Mark Old Shoes was the dancer who picked the dog from the kettle. He stabbed the dog and danced four times around the pot before he picked it up. Some people will say they are Powerful and go and lick the dog. . . .

[p.221-B]

In the Old Days, men danced to express their 535
spiritual and physical powers and to stimulate 771
their enthusiasm for bravery and for thoughts
about life in harmony with nature. The dancers
wore their fanciest war clothes and most spiritual
dream symbols. Often they imitated their spiritual helpers, dressing and dancing in imitation of
some bird or animal. The steps were usually slow
and all the movements emphasized symbolic
meanings. The men danced to inspire each other [575]
when they gathered with their society comrades.
They danced to arouse the courage of a departing 535
war party and they danced to celebrate the victory 727
when the party returned successfully. In victory
dances, the victors often took no part. Instead,
their relatives, often wives or mothers, put on
their war dress and bonnets and carried the trophies of the victorious battle around the dance
circle. Guns and scalps were commonly held aloft, [555]
while the bearer called out the relative's name
and praised his bravery and success.

As life in harmony with nature changed, so 535
did the dancing. Dancing became more and more 771
of a social affair, where the People gathered to
sing and visit. As modern clothing replaced tradi- 178
tional dress, the social dances also became one of [292]
the few opportunities for the People to wear the
old-time clothing. Those who could afford fancy [556]
clothes found this an opportunity to express their
wealth and material success. The young men, of [571]
course, found these social dances fine for showing
off and courting young women. Here is how Atsitsina remembers it:

The ladies will sit to one side, at a dance, and 535
the men will sit on the other side. Before a lady 571

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 224-A]
[p. 222-A]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

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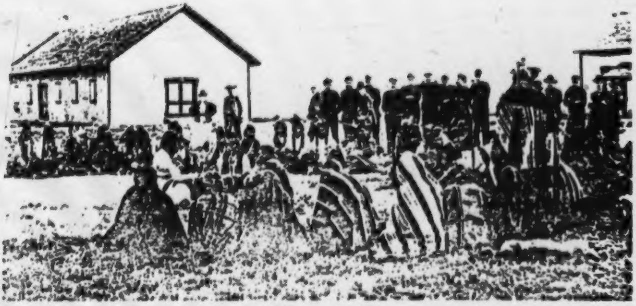

Mounties of Fort MacLeod, in 1898, look on as Bloods prepare to have a dance. (Steele & Co.)

[p.222-B]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

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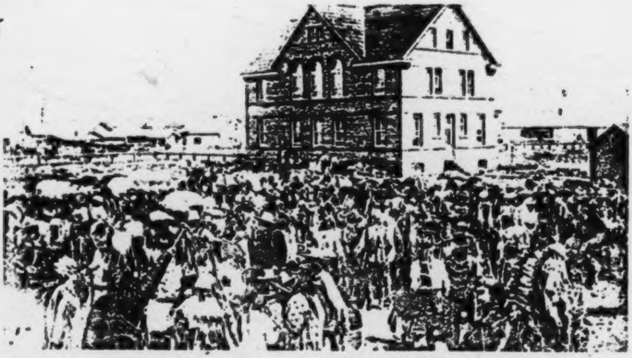
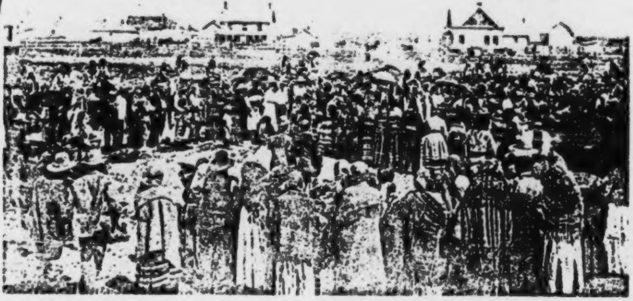


[292] Bloods dancing at Fort MacLeod during the visit of Sir Wilfred Laurier in 1910. The courthouse at the rear is still standing. The dancers wear many sacred articles: headdresses; shirts; feathers; and shields. (Glenbow Foundation)

[778]



[854] Men and women doing the Circle Dance, also called the Long-Tail Dance. It was a forerunner of today's Round Dance, the native version of a "slow dance," during which the dancers join hands and arms. Two of the women carry babies in their shawls.

goes to a dance she will think of her boyfriend. 535
She will think, "I will wear my best so that he will 571
see me." A single man will think the same way. The women will sit and the drummers will sing a good song. The men—they will dance the best way they can, to impress their girlfriends. They are just like them new dancers—they move their hips just like them white dancers that look like they are dancing by themselves. The men will dance as best as they can—all the while looking at their girlfriends. They do it very good—some will know how to take good sneaking glances at the girls.

Men who like to show off will paint their [302]
faces, and the women will just watch. Those who show off will dance very slowly so everyone will get a good look at them. They will put on their best face. By the end of the dance their eyes will be in the side of their head, because that is the way they will have been looking at their girlfriends all night. The women will do the same way when they get up and they do their circle dance.

Social dances are held throughout the year on the Blood Reserve, and visitors come from all over to attend them. A social dance is also a regular part of each year's Sun Dance Encampment; at our 1972 camp, it was held on the last Sunday of the gathering, a day when many visitors were
present. The appearance of the dancers and their 535
dancing styles had little resemblance to what was [178]
seen in the Old Days or in the Grass Dance days.
Most dance costumes today are bright and flashy [292]
and seldom show the quality or craftsmanship of the long-ago. Colored T-shirts, brightly-dyed feathers, and dime-store sequins are very common, and more than one costume sports Japanese-made commercial beadwork. Like the outfits, many dancing styles are flashy and captivating, but based on physical ability rather than on spiritual motivation. The Old People sometimes refer to the new style as gymnastics, though it is more commonly called war dancing or fancy dancing.

[p.224.A]

21: Hungry Wolf   F-4,5   (ca. 1972) 1977   NF6 Blackfoot NF6
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A give-away dance during the annual "Indian Days" in Stand Off. The head chief, Jim Shot-on-Both-Sides, leads fellow Bloods around the dance circle before giving out presents to the visitors. [431]
[622]

[p.224.B]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

in to the police by his own People. The following 682
March, 1897, Charcoal was hanged for the murder of Sergeant Wilde. He was not convicted of the murder of Medicine Pipe Stem, because there was not enough evidence to prove his guilt. 657

HOW SPIDER GOT HIS NAME

The finest dancer in the memory of most of our 535
People was a man named Spider, who died a few 554
years back. He was not known for having much interest in our sacred ceremonies, or for having fancy clothes like eagle headdresses and buckskin suits. Yet he was always perfectly groomed, kept [302] his face and hair painted, wore pleasing clothing, and carried an oblong mirror in one hand while he danced (a custom among many Grass Dancers).

Spider's favorite dance shirt was made from 535 green wool cloth. It had strips of beadwork on the arms and over the shoulders, like a buckskin shirt [292] but more subtle. This shirt was originally given to our uncle, Atsitsina, by a Sioux man. Atsitsina [431] gave the shirt to his brother, Jack Low Horn, who later gave it to his relative, Spider. Spider was buried in that shirt. He usually used yellow paint [302] to cover his face and bangs, which he wore straight-up, over his forehead, in the style of the Crows. Mrs. Walters wrote that she saw Spider [292] dance during the social dance at a Sun Dance Encampment, and that he wore a "buckskin outfit colored green, with wide bands of lavender and green beadwork and matching moccasins. . . . In one hand he held an oblong mirror about fifteen inches long, with a hand loop that also had green and lavender colors on it. With his mirror held stiffly downward and his other hand on his hip, he drifted around that circle like a bit of down. His feet seemed scarcely to touch the ground. Even the Indians burst into applause." At that time, in the early 1930s, he was sixty-five years old. His other name was Long Hair; he never cut [553] his hair.

[4.282-B]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

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Spider, or Long Hair, the handsome man of the Bloods. He is well remembered for his careful grooming, fancy dress, and perfect dancing. He has on a bead-decorated green wool shirt that was given to Atsitsina during a visit among the tribes in the east. (Arnold Lupson)

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fingers. When he lifted his hand, the spider had become real and was walking around on the bunch of grass. 727 789

Yellow-Painted Lodge sat the spider down on the ground, right in the path of the Cree's little man. The spider jumped forward and grabbed the little figure. In a moment he had the figure all bound up with his thread, dragging it along behind him as he climbed up one of the lodge poles.

The Cree knew that he was defeated. He begged Yellow-Painted Lodge to spare his life. He

[p. 283-B]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
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Blood

pinto tied in front of a lodge. "Hai-Jah," he thought to himself, "there is that fast pinto stolen from us a while back." So he cut the pinto loose and took it home. 721

Again some time went by. In 1908, the Bloods held a big July dance in their new dance hall on the reserve. Many visitors came from all over, including a number of Crows. Calf Robe had, long before, made a wooden replica of the prize pinto that he had stolen and then lost, and he carried the replica whenever he danced. On this occasion he hung the replica from a stick at one corner of the dance hall. Sometime during the

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Calf Robe in 1910. (Pollard Photo)

[P. 287-A]

celebration, the old men took turns getting up 535
and telling about their war experiences, using sign 177
language for the benefit of the guests. When Calf
Robe rose, he told about the capture of his pinto, [201]
and that someone else had stolen it from him [555]
later. At that point, one of the Crow visitors got up, took the replica down, and announced that since he was the one who had recaptured the original horse, he might as well take the replica of it, too.

THE LAST REAL WAR PARTY

In the spring of 1889, the last war party left the 721
Blood camps for enemy country. The party was gone for one whole moon and traveled a long way through most of what is now the state of Montana. This story was told by its last surviving participant, [115]
old Running Wolf's nephew, Last Gun, while I visited with him before his death at the age of 116.

*My father was old White Calf, head chief of
the Piegans. My home was with the Piegans in [629]
Montana, but I spent a lot of time with my Blood relatives in Canada.*

*Among my brothers in Montana was one 723
named Cross Guns. Somebody had stolen his best horse, and he was able to trail it as far as the line [border], but then he lost the tracks. He came to visit with me in Canada and told me about the loss of his favorite horse. Somebody from over here must have gotten away with it. Before he left we agreed to go on a horse raid during his next visit to make up for his missing horse. We thought we might raid some Crees or the white ranchers down east.*

One day, before my brother returned from Montana, Morning Writing came to see me. He told me that I should go downriver to the camp of the Lone Fighters band, where Young Pine wanted to see about something important. When I got to Young Pine's tipi, there were a lot of

TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 289-A]

fire, and pretty soon the water was boiling. Then 727
we put the blood-filled paunch into the boiling 252
water for a little while, until we figured the blood
soup was ready to drink.

By the time we made our next camp we were 727
out of spare moccasins, and a couple of us, including
myself, were actually barefooted. We
stopped at a place near present-day Shelby, Montana.
There we found a stray cow that we shot
and butchered. I still had some sinew with me [292]
for sewing, so we each made ourselves a pair of
crude moccasins from the raw cowhide. We
didn't stay in this camp very long, because we
wanted to get back across the line into Canada,
in case the soldiers were still on our trail. We
moved north until we got near the present town
of Sunburst. There we made a good camp and [727]
had a victory celebration. One of us would sing
while the others would dance. We painted ourselves [533]
for victory with black charcoal from our [535]
fire. We didn't know at the time that the soldiers
were still on our trail and that the Mounties were [302]
looking for us, as well. We were traveling at
night again, so that we wouldn't be seen by scouts
or ranchers.

The next day we made camp back at the Pine
Tree. We slept there and had another small victory
celebration. From there we had an easy ride
back to the Blood camps. It was daylight when we
reached the Lone Fighters band. When the People
there heard our story they all painted their
faces black and we had a big victory celebration.
They gave me a good pair of blue pants—mine [291]
were very dirty and torn—and a white blanket
coat and even some bullets for my rifle. I felt [431]
much better after I got cleaned up and put on
the fresh clothes.

In the afternoon I left and rode down to my
uncle's camp. When I got close to it, I began to [533]
sing the victory song, and Running Wolf came
out to meet me. I told him the story and gave [431]
him the scalp, and the People in his camp had a
scalp dance and celebration, too. My uncle later [778]

ankles. When they cut him, he said that he felt 776
like his heart was being cut out of his body. His 785
body was all bloody by the time they got him [824]
*fixed up. They even cut his back and tied a shield
to it.*

From the holy woman's tipi he was made to [535]
dance to the Medicine Lodge. The wind blew on [152]
*his wounds and caused him so much pain that
he cried all the way there. When he got inside he* [782]
*hugged the Center Pole and prayed, then he
leaned back on the ropes that somebody tied
from the top of the Pole to his chest. He leaned* [533]
*back real hard and jumped up and down and
sideways while the drummers sang a song. He
said that he jumped real hard because the pain
was so bad that he wanted to tear the ropes off
fast, but they didn't tear out. Black Eagle took
a stick and hit the rope hard and the skin broke
on that side. But my dad stopped him from hitting
the other side because of the pain. Big Wolf
grabbed him by his hair and pulled him back so
hard that the other side broke. Black Eagle was* [555]
*counting some coups so that he could cut the
loose skin off my dad's body. He cut the skin off* [752]
*and he put gunpowder on the wounds. After that
my dad was sent away to sleep and look for a vision.
That was when they had the riot inside the
Medicine Lodge.*

*My father said that he walked westward from
the camp until he came to the Belly River where
he slept on top of a cutbank. He could hardly
sleep that night from all the pain of his wounds.
The next day he was walking around by the river
when his relatives found him. They warned him
not to walk back into the middle of the trouble at
the Medicine Lodge. By the time they all got* 776
back home together the trouble was over and the 657
People were packing up their camps to go home. 177
*The men were angry and had their guns all ready
in case the Mounties came back to fight again.
Some of the Mounties had gone into the Medicine
Lodge to arrest old Calf Robe while the
men were just in there telling war stories. Those*

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
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[555]
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Members of a warrior's society inside a Medicine Lodge around 1880. They all have their guns and coup sticks and are ready to reenact their war adventures. At the right is the Weather Dancer's Booth—one of the dancers can be seen looking through an opening. To its left sit the drummers and singers for the ceremony. (Ernest Brown)

[P.309-B]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

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Early part of the public dance by the Horns in the 1940's. Jim White Bull leads the dancing Horns, wearing the Headdress-with-an-Arrow. Former members are seated within the dance circle. These scenes look much the same today.

At the end of the public dance by the Horns. Jim White Bull wears the ancient Headdress-with-an-Arrow-in-Front. The children on the right represent enemies, who are trying to keep back the advancing Horns. On the next round they will scream with excitement as the dance leader charges towards them with a loaded rifle. As the shot is fired and they fall in symbolic defeat, the Sun Dance Encampment comes to an end for another year.

21: Hungry Wolf   F-4,5   (ca. 1972) 1977   NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

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Social dancing.

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

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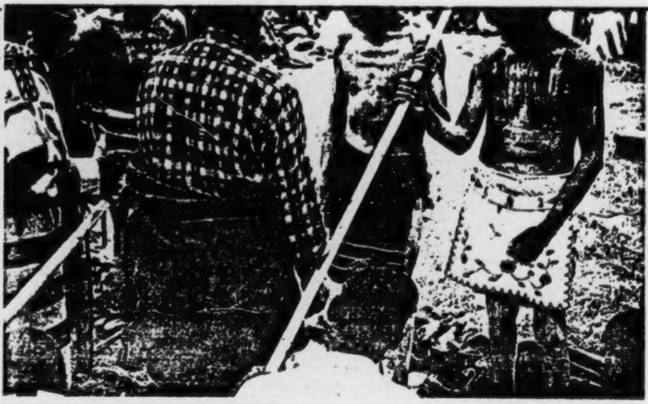

The painted new Horns members listen while old members pray and recite coups in order to paint the staffs and cover them with their sacred wrappings. On the left is Dog Child.

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[622] Circle Dance during social dancing at the Sun Dance of 1939. The designed robe worn by the man on the left used to be a chief's emblem.

hears my prayers whether I say them at a Nighttime 793
ceremony or at the Catholic Church or during 568
a Full Gospel meeting. I am not shy to pray 156
any place. That is how I live. 829

[782]

MARK OLD SHOES

Mark Old Shoes, or Rusty Boy, is probably the 793
youngest and healthiest of our Old People. He is
learning to lead some of the ceremonies, mainly
our Nighttime ceremonies and Medicine Pipe
Bundle openings. He is also head Weather [535]
Dancer on the Blood Reserve, in case there is ever
another Medicine Lodge ceremony.

Mark's father was the famous warrior Morning [551]
Writing, who was registered on the agency
rolls by his earlier name, Old Shoes. Morning [871]
Writing raised his children in the Old Way and
did not allow them to go to school. When Mark [177]
was twelve years old, his father died and he was
sent off to school, where they forced him to cut [302]
his braids. Since then he has always worn short
hair.

Mark has been a member of the Horns Society 575
three times, once as a bachelor and twice
with his wife. The first time he joined as partner [425]
to the Owner of one of the leaders' staffs. At later
times he owned the Staff-with-a-Rattle and the
Headdress-with-an-Arrow-in-Front. As he looked 829
through the photographs of past scenes he had 178
some comments: "I find it strange how much
everything has changed. For instance, in those
days the Old People all allowed their pictures to
be taken at the Sun Dance. Now, if anyone is [784]
seen with a camera, the Horns will sure get after [575]
him."

Like many of our Old People, Mark has 829
much faith in the new Horns to help keep our
Old Ways alive. He has said, "I think that as long 575
as the new Horns really believe in what they are [182]
doing, our Old Ways will keep going. Young
people didn't care much about the Old Ways, [178]
lately, when it was just us Old People. But now a
lot of young people are thinking about trying to
join us.

[P. 335-B]

lot of young people are thinking about trying to 000
join in."

Mark was greatly disappointed when the 778
Long-Time Pipe was sold to the Provincial Mu- 432
seum. His brother-in-law, George Long-Time 829
Squirrel, wished to become Keeper of the ancient
Pipe, so he sent Mark to see John Red Crane,
because the two were related. Mark said, "It sure [439]

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Mark Old Shoes, in the center, as the head Weather Dancer during the Medicine Lodge ceremonies. In the foreground is the Old Man, who was then his Teacher for the sacred duty. On the other side of him is old Heavy Head, dressed and painted just as he was some sixty years earlier when he underwent the self-torture. Each Medicine Lodge dancer must dress the same way as first instructed by his Teacher. Thus, the Old Man and Mark are both wearing shirts, with blankets wrapped around their waists. (Mark Old Shoes Collection) [869]

was hard for me to go back to my brother-in-law 778
and tell him that he couldn't take the ancient 432
Pipe because that white man was going to take it 829
to Edmonton." He added, "It was just as hard for
me when John Red Crane asked me to drum for [439]
him at the transfer. I didn't believe in it at all, [796]
but by the rules of our Old Ways, I couldn't
refuse. He was my relative and I knew the songs. [533]
I lost my son not long after that. Just about [784]
everyone who was at that transfer suffered some
misfortune soon afterwards, especially John."

Mark's father-in-law was old Long-Time 778
Squirrel. He died while he was still Owner of the 425
Different-People Pipe. At that time his son was
not prepared to take the Pipe, so Mark's mother- [768]
in-law asked him if he would take it, since it could
not stay in the home where a member of the
family had died. So Mark and his wife took it to
their home, and had it transferred to them during
the following Sun Dance.

Mark is the Weather Dancer as the result of 535 ●
a relative's dream. A woman named Prairie 793
Chicken Calling was visited by a holy man while 787
she was sleeping. The holy man pointed into the
distance and asked, "Do you recognize that man
over there?" The man was Mark, dressed as a
Weather Dancer. The holy man said, "I am telling
you that if that man becomes the Weather
Dancer and devotes himself to his duties, he will
have a long life."

The woman told Mark about her dream. She
said, "Please pity me, relative, and do as my
dream instructed." Mark spoke to the Old Man, [425]
who was then the Weather Dancer. The Old
Man agreed to transfer his rights during the next [424]
Sun Dance. Mark has been Weather Dancer at
three Sun Dance ceremonies so far. He said,
"That's the most Powerful thing that I have, [886]
now. It's my life, and I will live by it so that I can
reach old age."

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

GUY WOLF CHILD

Guy Wolf Child, at ninety-two years, is usually 535●
the oldest dancer at our ceremonies. Until a 776
couple of years ago, he came to the dance circle [292]
dressed in only a breechcloth and moccasins, his
face and body painted, and carrying two or three
large willow hoops so that he could do one more
encore of the old hoop dance. He used to keep up
to six hoops moving on each of his arms and legs,
as well as one on his head, each hand, and waist.

Today, Guy Wolf Child is white-haired and 156
b[illegible]d. He usually sits quietly in the corner of a 887
room and tries not to trouble anyone. If there is
any sign of drunkenness, he asks to be escorted 888
outside and away from the house. When we came
to see him, he was thrilled to have company. He
made sure he knew who everyone was, and said,
"When we meet we shake hands. That is the way
we have relatives. That is the only way that I will
know them now." We told him about the nice
photo of his father, old Wolf Child, and he asked
if we had it with us. He told us, "Lay it in my lap
so that I can at least touch the picture of my
father, since I can no longer see it."

We asked him what thoughts about the past
made him happy, and he replied as follows:

I always enjoy thinking about the past, back 829
when I was young and could dance good. I don't 178
remember the times before I went to school too
well. I don't know how long I was in school, but
I remember that when I came out, the modern
life had started. Things already seemed very
modern to me. I used to do all kinds of work for
different white men, they used to treat us pretty
good back then.

All things are different today. In the Old [291]
Days we all wore leggings, only lately they started
to wear pants. Even the Sun Dances are different [796]
today. Everyone used to get together for them
when I was younger. We used to play a game with 000

[p. 337-A]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

We used to play a game with 524
bows and arrows; we put mud balls on the points.
We had mock wars. People from the opposite
ends of the reserve would shoot at each other
with the mud-tipped arrows and the winners
would keep all the arrows. We played a hoop
game and in the spring when the geese came
back, all the women and the men played ball
games. Kids used to go out on the prairie and [857]
play. We would snare gophers, then take them
home and cook them and eat them. They were [224]
not too bad. [262]

I was a very good dancer. Everyone used to 535 ●
watch me. I was always the first one out on the
dance floor when I was young. . . . I always 541
danced at the stampede and exhibitions they had
in Fort MacLeod and in Lethbridge and several
times I danced at the Calgary Stampede, once
on the back of a flat trailer.

The most important place I ever danced at 535
was in Banff, when Long-Faced Crow [Wilson] 541
took us up there to entertain some officials. Fifty- 177
five of us went up there by train. We took along
several painted lodges to sleep in. They drove us 484
out to the buffalo paddock in cars and I remember
some of the Old Men, like Natosina, talking
about how they would like to have a bow and arrow
and go in there for just one more buffalo.
They really liked seeing buffalo again. We had
ten tipis set up; most of the men brought their
wives along.

When we got ready to dance for all the 535
white people in Banff, Wilson told me not to 541
wear any clothes, just to wear my breechcloth 177
and to dance with my hoops. My moccasins were
fully beaded with white background and I had
paint all over my body. There were several people
taking pictures of me, some of them with those
big cameras that they put their heads inside of.
I never saw any of the pictures. The other Bloods
that were along illustrated all kinds of things from
the Old Days. They had mock battles and horse
raids and they put up tipis. Natosina even led
a Nighttime ceremony for them inside the big

[p.337-B]

house; the white people were standing all around 535
them watching. [541]

I always look forward to going to any kind of
dance, even though I can only hear the drums [177]
and bells. I remember just what it looked like
in the Old Days, and I always get up and pretend
that I am dancing like when I was young again.
My grandchildren sing Indian songs and drum
and I get up and dance every night.

DAN WEASEL MOCCASIN

Dan Weasel Moccasin has worn his hair in two 302
braids all his life and is often called "Braids,"
although his actual name is Yellow Horse Rider. [551]
He parts his hair down the middle, instead of to [553]
one side as was our usual custom. It is not proper
to ask someone questions about personal habits, [576]
but it is known that Yellow Horse Rider keeps his
hair long for holy reasons.

His father, old Weasel Moccasin, was a 858
member of the Knife Owners band and the
Horns Society. His mother was a member of the
All Short People band. Yellow Horse Rider was [425]
their minipoka, and the usual favorite children's
sacred articles were transferred to him. [778]

When he was seven, old Heavy Shield gave 858
him a Medicine Lodge necklace. A Piegan holy
woman named Handsome Gun Woman gave him 857
another necklace during a Sun Dance ceremony. 778
While he was young he also had the topknots 425
from both the Backside-to-the-Fire Pipe and the
Cree Medicine Pipe. Later he was given the rights
to the sacred Lynx Tail Headpiece from Calling
Last's Beaver Bundle. He never transferred it to
anyone else, although Calling Last left it in his
Bundle when he sold it to the museum.

Around 1943, Yellow Horse Rider took the 778
Children's Medicine Pipe with his daughter, 425
Eleanor. His father gave up his fine buckskin out- 852
fit and seven good horses for it. They kept the [435]
Pipe for five years before giving it up to John Red
Crane.

[p.338-A]

first the sun pole and then the rafters, with as much speed as possible. The 782 medicine woman then returns to her tipi and the father with his male companions goes into a sweathouse.

Sixth Day. In the morning, a booth is erected in the dancing lodge for the medicinemen, or weather dancers. Later in the day, they approach, with processions made up of their respective bands, and take their places in the booth. At various times during the day, they dance to the sun. People also come up to be painted and prayed for. As a rule, the medicine-pipes are brought out for these men to bless and smoke. During the afternoon [535], the "digging dance" occurs, when the fireplace is made and the fire [354] kindled.

Seventh Day. People still come to be painted or prayed for by the medicinemen. Later in the day, the dancing of the societies begins. [535]

Eighth Day. The dancing may continue on this day; otherwise, camp [535] is broken and the bands go their several ways. The dancing may continue several days, there being no definite time for closing the ceremony. Indeed, to the Blackfoot mind, the really vital part of the ceremony closes on the evening of the fifth day. The dancing of the societies is free to take its course as the various organizations see fit. In former times, however, it was customary to break camp any time between the seventh and tenth days.

According to our information, the four camps of the medicine woman 796 was the rule in olden times and a hundred-willow sweathouse was made at 178 each camp. In recent times, but two moves seem to have been made; the first day marking the move from the regular home camp to the temporary one where the second day is also spent. But one of the hundred-willow sweathouses is now made — the one on the third day. Also, where formerly [343] they used the ordinary type of sweathouse, at the close of the fourth day, the men now return to the hundred-willow sweathouse. The time then was "when the service berries are ripe", perhaps August, instead of Fourth-of-July week, as in recent years.[1] Even the fast is much abbreviated, usually [785] but of two days' duration.

THE VOW.

The most important functionary in the Blackfoot sun dance is a woman, 796 known among the whites as the medicine woman, and upon a clear comprehension 173 of her functions and antecedents depends our understanding of the ceremony itself. Accordingly, we shall proceed with as complete an exposi-

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[1] See Grinnell, George Bird, *Blackfoot Lodge Tales* (New York, 1903), 264, for program. [113]

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793 her travois. While when the other brush was brought in there was much
346 shooting and shouting, there are now no demonstrations of any kind,
but absolute silence.

The Weather Dancers.

796 Early on the fifth day, a booth is built inside the dancing lodge opposite
346 the entrance. A slight excavation about six feet square is made over which
is erected a shelter of green cottonwood boughs, open on the side facing the
796 sun pole. Before the middle of the day, a procession of one or more men
535 supposed to have power over the weather, attended by drummers, proceeds
535 by stages from the medicine woman's tipi to this booth. They pause
[791] four times and dance, facing alternately the east and the west. They
[789] hold whistles of bone in their mouths, which are sounded in unison with
-[821] the dancing. The procession is of two transverse lines, the dancers, in
front, the drummers and singers behind. A great deal of dancing is done
between the entrance to the dancing lodge and the booth. At intervals
during the day they stand before the booth and dance to the east and west:
the drummers are now stationed on the south side of the booth where
women also assemble for the singing. The dancing is chiefly an up and
down movement produced by flexing the knees, the eyes are directed toward
the sun and wing-like movements of the hands are made in the same direc-
[291] tion. The dancers wear breechcloth and moccasins and usually a robe
[302] around the waist. Their faces and bodies are painted according to their
own medicines and medicine objects worn on their heads.

796 It is stated that there is but one weather dancer, but others may join
791 under certain conditions. In practice this seems to amount to there being
a director or leader in the dance, at least such was the case in 1903 and 1904.
535 In 1904 the two assistant dancers went to the medicine woman's tipi to
paint themselves and began their procession from there, while the leader
approached in a similar manner from his own tipi, the two forming one
procession before the east side of the dancing lodge was reached. The
[292] leading dancer wore a special ceremonial robe, headdress, and several
medicine objects, which have been described in Volume 7 (pp. 98–99).

These objects and their medicine functions may be regarded as esoteric
in so far as they are not absolutely essential to the office of leading dancer.
[237] Yet, this same individual seems to have performed this function for a number
of years. Clark mentions strings of feathers tied to the finger of this dancer.[1]
[301] In 1904 there were two assistant dancers. Both wore headdresses

[113]

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[1] Clark, W. P., *The Indian Sign Language* (Philadelphia, 1885), 72.

somewhat like that of their leader. One was fully dressed with a blanket around his waist; the other was nude to the belt. The latter was painted chiefly in red with a circle in blue on the back and one on the breast. The former had a pair of horizontal lines on each cheek, those on the right, black, on the left, red.

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It is said that formerly these dancers were nude, except for the breechcloth and moccasins. The entire body was painted. There seemed to have been no fixed painting, but the sun, moon, and stars were usually represented. Around the head, they wore a wreath of juniper and bands of sagegrass around the neck, wrists, and ankles.

[302)
[532)
[824)

The weather dancers are not permitted to eat or drink during the day. Formerly, they remained in the booth continuously until the evening of the fourth day of their dancing; in recent years, they spend the night at home and return to the booth in the morning.

[784)

The functions of these dancers are not clearly understood. They seem to be held responsible for the weather: i. e., upon them falls the duty of preventing rain from interfering with the dancing. Whether they do this because they happen to have independent shamanistic powers or whether it is a mere function of their temporary office in the ceremony, cannot be determined. Other medicinemen often attempt to control the weather during the days preceding the formal entry into the booth as well as during the later days. In 1903 (Piegan) there was a contest between a number of rival medicinemen some of whom conjured for rain, others for fair weather: strange to say, clouds would threaten and then pass away during these days, which coincidence was interpreted as proof of evenly matched powers. Several times one of the partisans of fair weather came out near the site of the dancing lodge and danced to the sun, holding up a small pipe and occasionally shouting. He wore no regalia and danced in a different manner from that observed among the weather dancers at the booth. However, the man who led the weather dancers for many years until his death in 1908, was famous for his control over the weather. Once, it is told, he became enraged at the power making the weather bad, shouting out "Now, you go ahead, if you want to. I have great power and can stop you when I will."

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In former times, the dreams of the weather dancers while sleeping in the booth were considered of special supernatural significance, since, it is said, they were *en rapport* with the sun. This *rapport* may account for what seems to be one of their chief functions — blessing the people. During the days they are in the booth, individuals come to them "to be prayed for." They come up and stand before the booth. The dancer takes black paint and paints their faces. Then he prays to the sun for their

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791 welfare. During this part of the ceremony the recipient faces the sun. 782 Again, the medicine-pipes and other ritualistic objects are brought up for 796 the dancer to present to the sun. The pipes he holds up with the stems towards the sun, whom he addresses at some length, offering him a smoke, [276] making requests, etc., after which he smokes the pipe. All the persons present are then permitted to put their lips to the pipe from which they are supposed to derive great benefits. The dancer also receives offerings made to the sun. A young man may fill a pipe and approach with his offerings. The dancer takes the pipe, smokes, prays, paints the man's face, and makes the offering. A woman or child may do this; or a whole [178] family. Formerly, a great deal of old clothing was offered at this time, a custom still practised by the Blood. Also children's moccasins and cloth- [425] ing were offered in this way. As they grew out of them they were given to the sun to promote well-being. In last analysis, it seems that while these dancers are spoken of as weather priests, they are rather sun priests, since through them appeals to the sun are made. It should be noted that they are regarded as independent of and in no way associated with the medicine woman ceremonies or the erection of the dancing lodge, but upon entrance to the booth, the leading weather dancer is said to become the chief and director of all succeeding ceremonies. The length of the ceremony depends entirely upon him and formerly continued as long as he kept his place.

796 Like other rites this one was bought and sold, but it was usual to continue 432 in ownership many years. Anyone could make a vow to dance with the 782 weather dancer and join him in his ceremonies, but such vows were usually made by former owners of the rite. When one makes a vow to purchase the rite, its owner must sell, however reluctant he may be. The transfer must be in the sun dance. It is said that two men once alternately sold to each other for many years so that both could appear in every sun dance.

DANCING.

796 The first ceremony of this character is named the cutting-out dance 535 (to cut out a hole in a robe). It seems to have been performed by a society and occurs early on the fifth day. About four or six old men dance in line with a rawhide which they hold in front of them, singing and beating time on the rawhide with rattles similar to those of the beaver men. The society now divides into two parties, one placing itself north of the center pole, and the other party standing in line south of the center pole. The two parties dance back and forward in front of the pole shooting at it. The

old men on the west side of the center pole dance in their places. The 796
rawhide held in front of them, hangs down like an apron. They beat 535
time on it, holding the rawhide in one hand, and the rattles in the other.
An old man counts deeds and marks out with a knife the fireplace and the [887]
booth for the weather dancers. These are dug while the dancing and [354]
shooting take place.[1] [346]

The hole, or fire pit, is dug between the sun pole and the entrance to 796
the dancing lodge. It is about three feet by two and "two hands" deep. 354
A warrior is then called to start the fire. Warriors now come forward 555
in turn to count their coups. In this a man took a piece of firewood and
holding it up, called out in a loud voice how he once struck a Sioux, a Snake,
etc., then placed it in the fire. When he had recounted all he gave way to
the next. Stories are told of men having enough coups to make a fire large
enough to threaten the destruction of the dancing lodge. We were able [804]
to confirm the statement of Clark[2] that the height of the flame as determined [237]
by a buffalo tail hanging down was the criterion for determining a great
warrior. One informant states as follows:—

There is always a cow tail hanging down from the center post. In [237]
olden times this was a buffalo tail, to the end of which a blackened plume
was tied. This hangs down over the fireplace which was used at night to [373]
furnish light for the proceedings. The assembled people were entertained
by narratives of warriors as they came forward to narrate their deeds;
each threw a stick on the fire for each deed counted and he whose fire
blazed high enough to reach the tail was considered a great warrior. It
was a great honor when a man could tell enough war deeds to scorch the
tail. All this time there was singing (the cheering songs) and drumming, [533]
while berry soup was served to all. The persons taking part are designated
as those "who are about to make the fire." In recent years, this ceremony [178]
has been performed in a very perfunctory manner.

After the ceremony, the fire was fed in the ordinary way and kept 796
going during the greater part of the succeeding days. The origin of this 354
dance is often ascribed to Scar-face.

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[1] It will be recalled that in the sun dance of the Dakota type (p. 110) there is a ceremonial [171]
shooting at the sun pole. Here the shooting takes place in a perfunctory way, while the pole
is dragged to the sun dance site. Yet, McQuesten claims to have witnessed the driving of
evil power from the sun lodge at a Blood ceremony in 1912. ("The Sun Dance of the Black- [113]
feet" *Rod and Gun in Canada*, March 1912.) As this is not noted in older accounts and we
failed to get information as to it, we suspect it to be due to foreign influences, or perhaps the
author's own interpretation.

[2] Clark, *ibid.*, 72.

Buffalo Robes

In the daytime, save for the shouting of children at play, the great 574
camp was quiet; but with the setting of the sun it livened up. Men 517
began shouting invitations to their friends to come and feast and
smoke with them. Members of the various branches of the *Ikuni* [575]
Kahtsi (All Friends warriors society) got together to sing and dance. [533]
At once in a hundred lodges there were various social gatherings— [535]
gatherings of old men, young men, old women, young women, chiefs
and leading warriors, Sun priests. Evening always found me joining
one or another of the lodge-fire circles to listen to the talk, and so
I heard great tales of war, of hunting, and of the wondrous doings
of the gods. In greatest demand were the tellers of humorous stories; [522]
they had so many invitations to social gatherings that they were
rarely found at home. And theirs was clean humor; one never heard [831]
any obscenity in the lodges of the Blackfoot tribes.

What George Catlin had to say of the Mandans he visited in 1832 574
—that they were kindly, courteous hosts—was equally true of the
old-time Blackfeet. A man giving a feast-and-smoke stepped outside [203]
his lodge and shouted his invitations. One by one the guests came
and were seated according to their standing in the tribe. The more 554
prominent a man was—such as chief, Sun priest, warrior—the nearer
he would be placed to the host. When all were seated, the women of [262]
the lodge placed dishes of food, the choicest that they had—boiled [276]
or broiled buffalo tongues, buffalo dorsal ribs, berry pemmican,
stewed berries—before them, and the host, not eating, began cutting
finely a mixture of tobacco for the smokes. At the same time he 521
started the talk about something of general interest, or, perhaps, 574
called on a certain one to tell of some thrilling experience he had
had in hunting or at war; or, as often happened, a Sun priest would
talk about the gods or relate a powerful vision that the gods had
given him in the night. As the talk went on, all ate slowly, moderately,
and in most pleasant manner, of their portions. Contrary to [261]
the general opinion of them, the Indians, anyhow the Blackfeet, were
not gorgers of great quantities of food.

When all had finished eating, the host passed the filled big-stone 276
bowl with its long stem to someone of the circle to light from the 793
fire—always a Sun priest if one were present—and he, touching a coal 574

24: Schultz F-3 (1877-1947) 1980 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

CHAPTER NINE

He Sang the Victory Song[1]

In August, 1881, slow, idle days dragged on for us at Kipp's trad- 222
ing post. The Indians were still out on the plains, gathering great 224
stores of chokecherries for winter use, hunting only for their daily 439
meat, trading with us not at all.

"I would like to have a few days off to go and camp again with the Blackfeet," I said to Kipp one evening.

"Well, go," he answered shortly.

Early the next morning I saddled my buffalo horse, tied on a 000
slender roll of blankets, and was on my way. In good time I arrived
in the Blackfoot camp on Musselshell River, at the mouth of Crooked
Creek, where I was welcomed in the lodge of Three Bears, father of
my close friend Eagle Head. Like myself, Eagle Head was twenty- 262
two years of age. Presently I was seated on the couch which I was to 123
share with him, while his mother, Spear Woman, and his pretty sis-
ter, *Paiót Ahki*, "Flying Woman," were setting food before me: a
bowl of soup, a plate of rich, berry pemmican. I ate heartily, cleaned
the plate, and drank a second bowl of soup. Then Three Bears lit [276]
and passed his huge, black, stone pipe, and we smoked. Later Eagle
Head and I went visiting here and there and in the evening looked 123
on at a dance of the Raven Carriers band of the All Friends warriors 575
society. Mature, experienced warriors were the Raven Carriers, and 535
soon to go to war against the Cutthroats.

Spear Woman had decided that her daughter should have a new 000

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[1] Published in *The Open Road for Boys* (September, 1937).

595 837 Buffalo and his women, and as I was passing he invited me to sit and smoke with him. I casually noticed that his sits-beside-him-wife, as the Blackfeet call a man's first wife, was idle; the two others were busily quilling the uppers of a pair of moccasins for their man, quilling in ancient designs and gorgeous hues.

"Would that I could have a pair of moccasins as beautiful as those are to be," I said.

"Get married, then, and have all the pretty moccasins that you can wear," Otter Woman replied.

"Easy to do were I as good looking as he there coming," I said, pointing to Handsome Man, flanked by his singing, drumming friends and just then starting to dance along the inner line of the lodges of the big camp circle.

[535] [714] [411] [237] On they came, Handsome Man slightly in the lead, dressed in a suit of beautifully fringed and quilled war clothes, face and hands and moccasins red painted, brandishing a war club banded with snow-white eagle plumes. Lithely, gracefully, he danced, in perfect time with the thrilling singing and drumming of his followers. Said Talks-with-the-Buffalo, lips contemptuously curling: "But why war club, weapon that he has never used and never will use upon the enemy?"

"But he is still so young; give him time, my man; give him time to use it, as I am sure he will," the sits-beside-him wife replied.

"*Ha!* Wouldn't use it were he to live ten hundred years," he growled and spat upon the ground.

For all its apparent ease, Handsome Man's war dance was strenuous work, particularly on a day so hot; finally tiring, perspiration streaking his painted face, Handsome Man motioned his followers to be silent, and came to a stand close in front of our shelter. And just then Otter Woman held out a questioning hand to her jealous enemy, *Otahki*, and said, "Give me Handsome Man." And then; "Oh, what a mistake! I meant my awl; my awl that you borrowed."

But before she could finish, *Otahki* was already all but shouting to Talks-with-the-Buffalo: "My man! Did you hear her, your new wife? She told me, 'Give me Handsome Man.'"

Talks-with-the-Buffalo frowned, stared at Otter Woman. She

fear was the shouting and waving of us frighteners, continually rising 224
upon their either side and running after them. So on they ran, straight ahead, down into the little coulee and jumped off the cutbank into the *piskan*, we frighteners singing and yelling, hurrying thither. Oh, what a satisfying sight it was, that great *piskan* filled with buffalo, as later counted, 181 of them; our hunters on top of the *piskan*, with guns and with bows and arrows shooting them. I climbed up onto the *piskan* beside my father, reloading his flintlock gun. "Give it to me. Let me kill one!" I yelled.

"No! You are too young for that," he said. But I grasped his arm, hung onto it, pleaded hard, and at last he handed me the gun. I aimed it at a yearling close by; aimed for the ball to pierce the lungs. I pulled the trigger, and down off the *piskan* that gun kicked me flat upon my back. My father and the others near by laughed at me. I climbed back upon the *piskan* and looked down: my yearling was dead.

"Laugh, you crazy ones; I don't care. I have killed a buffalo," I yelled.

Said my father as he recovered his gun: "So you have, my son. Next time hold the gun tight against your shoulder and it will not kick you."

Men and women, boys and girls, we all worked hard the rest of [462]
that day in butchering the many buffalo, and with pack horses and [482]
travois horses getting the meat and hides across the river to camp.
And then what a happy evening for us all! My father's friends were [574]
constantly coming to our lodge to smoke with him and praise him [261]
for his decoying of the herd. There was feasting and smoking and [276]
singing in nearly every lodge. Some of the warrior societies, the [575]
Crazy Dogs, Raven Carriers, Kit Foxes, and others, sang and danced. [533]
I sneaked into the lodge of the Raven Carriers society to see them [535]
dance, hear their powerful heart-stirring songs. Their leader, Eagle [727]
Head, had recently led a war party on a raid against the Crows, and
they had returned with many horses and scalps. He, himself, had
killed three of the Crows. He noticed me sneaking into the lodge 575
and I thought that he would tell me to leave. But, no. He signed to 224
me to come and sit upon his couch. I did so and he patted my shoul- [535]

575 der. Said to me: "Your father, what a Sun-favored man he is. What
[224] a powerful decoyer. It is because of him, his success, that we dance
● [535] tonight."

He was so friendly that I said to him: "Killer of Crows, I want to be a member of you Raven Carriers."

"So you shall be when you grow up," he answered. And then as the drummers and singers began again the society's dance song, he sprang up, raised me up, and said: "Come, you shall dance with us." I did so. I danced out from the circle of them, danced close around the fire; and, clapping their hands, they said that I was a perfect dancer. I went home very proud of myself: I was to be a Raven Carrier. In our lodge all were asleep when I entered it. I noiselessly got upon my couch and slept, too.

787 Daybreak was near when loud shouting awakened us. A man was
224 shouting: "Get up! Get up, you people! Our *piskan* is burning!
Hurry! Hurry! We must put out the fire."

Cried my mother: "Our man. He is out there. Where can he be?" We all rushed out. The *piskan* was a very large fire.

"Enemies are burning it," our head chief, Lone Walker, shouted. "You warriors, all of you get your weapons, get upon your horses and we will make those enemies to cry."

Again my mother cried: "Our man, oh where can he be? I know not when he got up, went out."

As our many warriors were hurrying to obey Lone Walker's order, lo! my father appeared. He was coming from the river, carrying his leggings and moccasins; and when he had come close he signed to the crowd of us: "Be quiet. Be quiet." And then said loudly: "Retie your horses, put away your weapons. I set fire to the *piskan*. You cannot save it."

"*Ha*, you set it afire. Why did you do it? Are you crazy?"

"No, not crazy. I did it because of my vision, my powerful vision," he answered.

"That vision—what was it?"

"I cannot tell you about it now. I am very tired. I must rest," he said, and turned, walked slowly to our lodge and into it, my mother, almost-mothers, and I following, hearing the people all about us

were unwrapped and the transfer ceremony was 787
performed. Four times he thus dreamed, and on 778
each occasion was taught the ceremony and the 575
songs. The buffalo-stones are placed in the pipe bundle because the first owner was a caller of buffalo; and for the same reason a buffalo-tail is fastened to the pipe.

The pipe bundles, therefore, as well as the Catchers Society itself, had their origin in the dreams of the original pipe-owner.

The following song belongs to the bundle: 533
778

This is my pipe; it is powerful. 575

This is sung while dancing with the pipe, which [539]
is held first in the crook of the right elbow, and [535]
then transferred to the left.

The following buffalo song also belongs to the pipe:

This man chief, he says he wants to eat rump fat. [539]
This woman, she says she wants to eat rump fat.
This is the piskun; leader do not turn.

While singing this song the left arm is held in a half-circle, indicating the rim of the *piskun*, while the right hand is moved edgewise over the curve of the left arm, representing the buffalo going over the edge.

The leader is powerful; I want to eat. [539]

775 Hills. Here all their ancestors are invisible to men, but
pursuing about the same career they did in life. Their
ghosts sometimes visit the living and talk to them in a
whistling sound, which they hear in the sighing of the
wind, the creaking of lodge poles and the rustling of leaves.

SUN DANCE

796 The principal religious ceremony is the sun dance.
346 About the last of August each band resorts to a suitable
[313] locality where poles can be obtained for building the lodge
[535] in which the dance takes place. The poles are cut from
twenty-five to thirty feet long and inclined together like
the poles of the ordinary lodge, the upper ends being secured
to a single upright pole standing in the center of the
the enclosed space and projecting some three or four feet
[824] above the rest. The exterior is then thatched with pine
or other evergreen boughs so as to exclude the sun, only
one opening being left, which serves as the entrance. The
lodge thus prepared is capable of holding from three to
796 four hundred persons. In the meantime, a feast is prepared,
comprising every variety of food that the resources
[684] of the band can command. Of this feast all partake for
three days, none being excluded therefrom but such women
796 as have been guilty of lewdness. While the feast is in
535 progress the dance goes on within the lodge, lasting without
intermission for three days and nights. The dancers
are some half dozen in number, all men selected from the
entire band and they are stripped naked, the entire body,
including the face being usually painted with white earth.
They stand looking upward at the center pole of the lodge
with a fixed gaze, blowing a short whistle held between
the teeth, the feet a little apart and immovable, while the
body is lifted up and down upon the knees accompanied
by a movement of the raised arms similar to the flapping
of a bird's wings, the elbows being bent at nearly a right
angle. During the entire period of the dance the performers
are allowed no nourishment but such as they can
extract from a pipe; they often faint from exhaustion,
when they are revived with cold water and again resume

796 their places in the dance. As may be supposed the dancers
535 are worn completely out by the close of the ceremony.
The movements of the dancers keep time with the beating
of a drum accompanied by a monotonous chant which a
group of old men seated nearby on the ground keep up continually.
[534] The drum used is of rawhide, stretched over a
[237] wooden hoop, similar in shape and somewhat larger than
a tambourine. It is beaten with a single stick, the pounding
end being wrapped with dressed skin or other suitable
material.

796 During the dance the warriors who have achieved success
555 in war during the previous year enter the lodge to
[782] count their *coups* and anyone desiring to make a sacrifice
to the sun does so by hanging his offering upon the pole.
Coup is the French word meaning *blow,* and has come to
be the accepted translation of the Blackfoot *nah-mach-kach,*
a word difficult to find an exact equivalent for but
being nearly "a trophy taken" (Major Culbertson's translation),
its root being *nah-mah,* a weapon or military arm.
The various exploits of war are denominated coups and
reflect honor upon their performers according to a certain
fixed scale of merit. To capture an enemy's arms is a
coup of the first class; to touch him alive, of the second;
to touch his dead body or secure his scalp, of the third;
to make a successful theft of an enemy's horses, of the
[431] fourth. Those who desire the privilege of recounting their
[537] coups must first present a horse to someone at the door
of the medicine lodge (an irrevocable gift), when he may
enter the lodge and in his turn relate his exploits, illustrating
them by gestures indicating the manner of their
performance.

The horse stealers, however, are not required to make
the gift of a horse at the door but bring with them a
bundle of sticks, and, casting one into a fire kept burning
in the lodge, say: "At such a time I stole so many horses
at such a place, from such enemies." Then casting in another
796 stick describes another occasion. Such are the ceremonies
[782] accompanying the sun dance, and when they are concluded
all hands break camp and move away, leaving the lodge

175 Union, bringing with them for sale a white buffalo robe.
439 It seems that at that time the Mandans were desirous of
648 making a sacrifice of unusual costliness, and a council was
at once called to consider the propriety of securing this
robe. It was decided to do so and the means were pro-
vided with which to effect the purchase, consisting of
eight of their best horses bearing goods of a value exceed-
ing that of the horses. These were dispatched to Fort
Union, the Blackfeet were still there with their treasure,
the price was accepted, and ere long the wonderful robe
was on exhibition in the lodge of the principal chief of the
175 Mandans. In due time after public curiosity was gratified
648 by its inspection, the robe was consecrated by the medicine
men and attached to a pole over the Mandan medicine
lodge, where, according to the custom of the tribe, it prob-
ably remained until it disappeared from decay.

It can not certainly be said that this robe and the one that disappeared from the Blackfoot medicine lodge are identical, but we think that few of our readers will hesitate to arrive at that conclusion.

SONGS

533 The songs of the Blackfeet had no words but existed in great variety. They were scarcely to be called monotonous, as they possessed quite a range of notes and varied greatly in expression from the lowest articulation to the most vociferous yells. They were, however, unmusical to civilized ears.

SCALPS

727 When scalps were taken they were turned over to the
● 535 squaws upon the arrival of the war party at the village, to
[462] be prepared for the scalp dance. This was done by stretch-
ing each scalp upon a hook, the hook being then attached
to a small pole, six or eight feet long, a separate pole for
each scalp. Each pole is borne by a squaw, usually a rela-
tive of the warrior who took it, who leads in the dance,
the warriors and squaws all arrayed in their best attire
following her in single file in a circle of a size propor-
tioned to the number of dancers. The step of the dance is

727 little more than a march in quick time, to the music of a
535 song peculiar to the dance. Where the number of dancers
is considerable several rings are formed in different parts
of the tent and the dance is frequently kept up with intervals
of rest for twelve or fourteen days.

HAIR

302 The Blackfeet take no care of the hair, never combing
it, braiding it, or gathernig it in knots as is the custom
with some tribes. Neither did they part it nor paint the
[765] head. It was permitted by both sexes to grow to its full
[142] length, reaching usually to the shoulders, except when in
mourning, when the hair was cut off close to the head. In
color it was usually a jet black, though sometimes in the
young it had a light, grayish color, afterward changing to
the invariable black of mature years. It was coarse and
always dirty.

PHYSIQUE

142 The men were rather above the usual height, generally
147 approaching and often exceeding six feet, well proportioned,
[141] active and hardy, but not more than ordinarily
[524] strong. They practiced no athletic exercises and the indolent
life they led when not upon the war path or engaged
in the chase were not conducive to great bodily strength.
181 They possessed an intelligent countenance free from vindictiveness
or bloodthirstiness, reasonably good-looking,
manly and often noble. In character they were good-humored,
candid and truthful, honest among themselves
but less so with strangers, talkative, fond of story-telling,
easily excited to laughter, less inclined to conceal the
emotions than most Indians, friendly to their fellows, and
[727] affectionate to their wives and children. The returning
warrior is always met with kisses and embraces by his
female relatives, which he does not disdain to receive, and
the father of a family is often to be seen playing with his
children and apparently greatly enjoying their childish
[854] sports. It should be remarked, however, that with children
through the nursing period they have nothing to do,
leaving them wholly to the squaws.

000 so much importance as to demand preservation in tradition.

WAR PARTIES

726 Among the Blackfeet a war party was made up without
the ceremony peculiar to most tribes. A chief or warrior
desiring to go to war announced his intention and sought
[623] for volunteers. When a sufficient number was obtained,
the next step was to secure the consent of the soldiers'
[701] lodge, which was rarely withheld. Sometimes, however,
in cases of public danger, rendering it desirable to keep
the whole force of the village together, or where the proposed
expedition was against a friendly tribe, permission
was not given. Occasionally, but rarely, a war party would
steal off without the authority of the lodge but this was a
● 535 hazardous undertaking. Occasionally before setting out
726 upon their enterprise, the members of the war party would
[431] perform the Begging dance. This consisted simply of calling
in succession at the lodges of the wealthiest citizens,
and dancing before it until the owners made them some
present calculated to promote their enterprise as moccasins,
726 powder, lead, tobacco. At last, all preliminaries being concluded,
the leader of the band, or partisan, as he is technically
called, appoints a place of rendezvous at some distance
from the camp, when singly or in small parties and
by different routes, the warriors repair under cover of
night to the designated spot and before morning all are
assembled and the expedition begun.

WAR

721 A state of war was considered to exist the instant any
tribe hitherto at peace with the Blackfeet committed depredations
upon their property or killed any of their number.
[622] Sometimes the chiefs and head men sought to restrain the
mad impulses of their followers bent upon revenge until a
calm investigation of the circumstances could be had, but
usually the whole tribe became infected with the excitement
and headlong retaliation rendered permanent a breach
[728] that might have been easily filled. Though all Indian
tribes understand and occasionally practiced the art of

SOCIAL DANCES OF THE BLOOD INDIANS OF ALBERTA, CANADA

By Hugh A. Dempsey

535 [517] FOR decades, social dances have been an integral and vital part of the daily life of the Blackfoot. Whether it be the simple steps of the Rabbit Dance or the intricate movements of the Chicken Dance, these Indians of the southern Alberta
[178] prairies accept social dancing as the favorite relaxation and diversion from their daily toil. Even in modern times, the Indian who drives a late-model car or wears a business suit picks up the rhythm of the drums in the same way as his nomadic forefathers did a century ago.

535 178 [184] The Bloods, a branch of the Blackfoot nation, are perhaps one of the outstanding examples of Indians who are preserving many of the customs of the old buffalo-hunting days. While the younger set among their allied relations (the North Piegans and Blackfoot proper in Canada and the South Piegans in the United States) prefer modern square dancing and box socials, the Bloods still retain many of their traditional rites.

535 The most important social dance among this tribe of 2,100 Indians is the *see-pass-tui-pusk-kah* or Owl Dance. A simple shuffling step, it has been known to these people for less than forty years, yet it has eclipsed in popularity almost every other social dance held on the Blood Reserve.

The Owl Dance came to the Bloods during the early years of the First World War, in either 1914 or 1915, when it was brought into Canada by Bloods who had been
[171] visiting in the United States. Informants believe it was first seen by the Bloods on the Crow Reservation in southern Montana and was brought back either directly from there or by way of the South Piegan Reservation in northern Montana.

When it reached the Bloods, the Owl Dance replaced the old Night Dance, another social dance which is credited with origin in the United States. In this dance, the couples simply faced each other and bent their knees slightly in rhythm with the drums.

The Owl Dance won immediate popularity among the Bloods, and many of the customs accompanying the Night Dance and earlier ceremonies were adapted to this new dance. The method of organizing an Owl Dance depended largely upon the social
[121] life of the Bloods and their adaptation of early traditions. In order to explain the
[182] method of organizing the social dance, it will first be necessary to study their social system.

575 561 Almost all male members of the Bloods belong to one of the fourteen societies on the reserve. Of these societies, thirteen have age group limitations; the fourteenth is the Horn Society, a sacred organization which has endured since pre-treaty days. The following is a list of age group societies existing on the Blood Reserve in January, 1953.

	Name of Society	*Age Group*
No. 1	Crow Indians	Over 85
No. 2	Shell Necklaces	78 to 85
No. 3	Fast Horses	73 to 78

575
561

No. 4	Big Holes in Ear Lobes	70 to 73
No. 5	Tall Hats	68 to 70
No. 6	Mad or Crazy Dogs	60 to 68
No. 7	Red Belts or Assiniboines*	52 to 60
No. 8	Good Riders—Eagles	46 to 52
No. 9	Grey Horses—Skinny Horses	36 to 46
No. 10	Small Change (Nickles and Pennies)	28 to 36
No. 11	Magpies	Under 28

* formerly the Pigeons

Two groups, Nos. 8 and 9, have been sub-divided into two societies by the Bloods because of the large membership and the great distances between camps. In each case, one is known as the up-river society and the other as the down-river society, but these are actually little more than sub-divisions of one group.

[424] [425] [178] At present, Bloods who are admitted to a society remain members of it for life. Previously, groups would purchase membership in an advanced society as they became older and sell their existing membership to a younger group. However, the recent years have produced an apathy towards this custom, with the result that no society transfers have been made for more than a decade. At present a Blood named Iron, aged 96, is the only living member of the Crow Indian society, and after his death the society will become extinct. However, in a generation from now the name may be revived by a new society searching for a name of historical importance.

535 575 561 578 The Blood societies are in constant competition to outstrip their opponents in any ceremonies or activities on the reserve, and social dancing has become the principal form of rivalry. In the above list, all even-numbered societies are allied and compete against the odd-numbered groups. Particularly keen rivalry takes place between any society and the group immediately above or below it. For example, if the Crazy Dogs were sponsoring a dance, they would attempt to surpass anything that the Tall Hats or Red Belts had organized in the past year.

535 575 561 In preparing for their dance, the Crazy Dogs might lack a good announcer or singer. If this were the case, they would ask one of their allied societies for assistance. When the dance night arrived, members of allied groups would volunteer for any tasks necessary to ensure the success of the affair.

A few years ago, it was the custom for dances to be held almost monthly, with opposing teams alternating their sponsorship in formal order from youngest group to the eldest. If this custom were still kept up, it would mean that the Magpies might take the January dance, the Small Change the February dance, Grey and Skinny Horses the March dance, and so on. However, the senior organizations, (particularly the Crow Indians, Shell Necklaces, and Fast Horses), have almost completely withdrawn from sponsoring their own dances, since none of them has a living membership of more than a dozen persons.

[178] In the modern sponsorship of Owl dances, the Bloods follow the original customs as closely as possible and particularly insist that two allied societies cannot sponsor two consecutive dances. In 1953 the Magpies, as the youngest group, sponsored the New Year's dance; the Small Change sponsored the pre-Lent dance; and the Grey and Skinny Horses were expected to sponsor the Easter dance.

535 177 Most of the social dances are held on recognized Christian holidays, as a com-

535 177 [785] [795] promise between the old and the new. The pre-Lent dance, for example, is the last dance for forty days, as the Bloods, who are predominantly Anglican (Episcopalian) and Roman Catholic, forego dancing during Lent. This is the first year of the pre-Lent dance and is another step in the adaptation of native ceremonies to modern customs.

575 177 [535] [796] Another sponsor of dances, as mentioned earlier, is the Horn Society. This totally non-Christian religious group has also shown a compromise with the Church by sponsoring the annual Christmas Dance. A powerful society even today, the Horns play a vital role in the summer Sun Dance (*okan*) ceremonies, which are the basis of the native religion of the Bloods.

575 561 Members for the Horns are taken from the age-group societies and, originally, were changed every four years. However, the period of membership in the Horns has lately varied from two to four years, depending upon the activity of the group. Membership in this society is decided upon in an alternating pattern similar to the dance sponsorships. For example, the Horn Society members were chosen from the Eagle society in 1951 and, upon the completion of their term, one of the odd-numbered societies will provide the new members.

535] During the sponsorship of the Christmas dance, the Horns may also call upon the allies of their parent group for assistance. During the 1952 Christmas dance, the Horns, who were predominantly from the Eagles, were permitted to seek assistance from any of the even-numbered societies.

575 561 535 [578] Thus, through this complex social organization, a keen and wholesome rivalry is constantly being stimulated to produce the best dances. Some members are ordered to provide food or soda pop; some decorate the hall and set the stage for the important night. Other members of the group, whether rich or poor, are solicited for gifts of cash or blankets to meet the heavy expenses of the evening.

[626] In speaking to a member of the Magpies shortly before the New Year's dance, it was learned that he had been ordered to bring fifty sandwiches and would be fined $10 by his society if he failed to comply.

The recognized leaders of the society sponsoring a dance usually divide the responsibilities as much as possible among their own group and then turn to their allies for 533 535 specialized assistance. The principal specialists needed for an Owl Dance are the singers, a dance announcer, and the Chicken Dancers.

The singers both carry the tempo of the dance on the drum and accompany it with the traditional Owl Dance songs. Therefore, to make sure the music will be of the highest quality, the societies call upon certain members who are outstanding in singing for each dance sponsored by their allies. Such men as Percy Plainswoman, Harry Shade, and Alex Little Shield are typical examples of the singers who are most likely to be called upon whenever an allied society presents a dance.

So, too, with the dance announcer. This man is responsible for urging the people to dance and for announcing changes in the dancing routine. Both the even-numbered and odd-numbered societies have two or three elders who are particularly adept at announcing, and they are continually called upon to take part in the activities.

535 The Chicken Dancers are the men who provide the entertainment at the dance. After every Owl Dance, these gaily-clad performers strut onto the floor and imitate the intricate steps of a male prairie chicken vying for the favor of a hen. These dancers make use of sleigh bells, hoops, masks, feathers, and colorful clothing to put on an

36: Dempsey H-4,5 (1952) 1956 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
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535 exciting show. The Chicken Dancers are drawn from every allied society, and even from friends or relatives among the Blackfoot proper and the Piegans on other reserves. As many as eighteen or twenty dancers, ranging in age from twelve to seventy, may be on the floor at one time, executing the varied and intricate steps of the dance.

None of these specialized entertainers—the singers, dance announcers, and Chicken Dancers—are paid for their evening's work, but they are provided with free meals and [431] often with transportation. The cash donations and fines collected before the dance provide the necessary funds, as well as gifts of money to important visitors from other reserves.

The Owl Dance is a slow shuffling step which follows the tempo of the drum. Each male dancer stands beside his female partner and holds her in much the same manner as in a modern schottische. His right arm encircles her back, his right hand resting on her shoulder, while his left hand clasps her right hand in front of them. The female's left hand holds her partner about the waist.

To the beat of the drum in the center of the group, the couples shuffle clockwise in a large circle, each placing the outside foot forward and drawing the other up to it in a dragging step. As the outside foot steps forward, the knee of the inside leg is bent slightly, giving a bobbing effect to the group.

It is customary among the Bloods for the man to dance on the left of his partner, [171] which places him on the outside of the circle. However, the Blackfoot proper have reversed this process by allowing the females to dance on the outside. This latter custom has passed on to the Plains Cree of central Alberta, who use the Blackfoot style in their interpretation of the Owl Dance.

The Bloods begin the dance in a clockwise circle although, if the hall or grounds [344] become too crowded, the circle is often broken into a second circle within the first. At a dance in the Blood community hall (a converted Air Force barracks) at Christmas, 1952, the crowd of men, women, and children was estimated at more than one thousand, with at least half of them getting up for each dance. Here it was impossible to do more than move the feet in rhythm with the drums and shuffle forward at each opportunity. However, the group was still able to retain the general clockwise movement, with each couple following faithfully in line.

Each dance lasts for about twenty minutes and is broken into four or five sections, [533] with rest periods in between. The singers signify the rest between laps of a dance by ceasing the drum beat and halting their singing. During the rest, which may last from half a minute to two minutes, the singers take time for a cigarette or a drink of soda pop, while the dancers remain standing in the circle. When the next lap of the dance is about to begin, the singers start their songs and the crowd moves forward on the first beat of the drums. The end of the dance is indicated by a roll of drums which follows quickly on the heels of the regular beat.

[431] After each complete dance the Chicken Dancers put on their performance, which may last from twenty minutes to half an hour. Two other rest periods during the evening give an opportunity for the serving of food and the presentation of gifts to important visitors.

[533] The number of singers at an Owl Dance may vary from four to six to eight or ten [417] men, depending upon the merits of their voices. In the modern community hall on the Blood reserve, a special portable singers' bench has been constructed for the dances. It is circular, measures about six feet in diameter, and resembles a miniature bandstand.

533 535 All singers face the centre of the circle and beat a single large drum with cloth-covered sticks.

Although there are numerous Owl Dance songs, none has words. They consist only of a melodious chanting. It is not uncommon for the singers to preside at dances from eight o'clock in the evening until eight o'clock next morning without repeating a single song. Many of these tunes are born in the fertile imagination of modern singers, so that each year there is a popular "hit parade" of new songs.

As no names are given individual songs, each one is identified by singing the first few bars. Usually one of the singers will say, "Here, let's sing this one," and begin the song. His companions will wait until he has completed the first portion and then join [562] in. On some occasions women will stand beside the bench and add their high-pitched nasal style of singing, but they are never allowed to sit with the men or remain at the bench during the Chicken Dance.

535 In addition to the normal clockwise movement of the dancers, there are many minor steps; and new routines are continually being added. The most popular variations are the "turnabout" and "turning on the spot" features. While the dance is in progress, the announcer may shout, "Turn around and dance in the opposite direction." At this cry there is general confusion for a moment as everyone turns round and dances in a counter-clockwise direction.

In the other variation the announcer may call, "Turn each other around." This consists of a slow turnabout movement, with the partners retaining their "schottische" hold. They then wait a moment to hear if he shouts, "Now do it again." This latter feature causes a great deal of amusement among the dancers, as there is often still some confusion after the first call.

Throughout the dance, the announcer is continually moving among the crowd, urging everyone to join in. The literal translation of a popular call is: "Don't waste all [526] this good music. Get up and dance." A few decades ago, it was customary for the announcer to carry a small whip with him to strike the legs of persons who would not get up to dance. However, this has not been necessary within the past few years, as the floor is usually filled to capacity with willing dancers.

178 535 In the dance itself, there are a few restrictions which have been carried over into modern social dancing from earlier customs, though many of them have suffered revision in the compromise with modern society.

[576] [562] Among the Bloods, it is the woman who asks the man to dance, and it is considered highly insulting for a man to refuse without good reason. In the old days, a woman could publicly denounce a man for this action and strike him across the back as an obvious sign of distaste.

When the dance has ended, the male dancer is not required to show his partner to her seat, but returns to his own place, leaving the woman to her own resources.

[593] [602] [578] Most interesting is the custom prohibiting a man and his wife from dancing together. A few years ago this custom also forbade dancing with blood relatives such as brothers, sisters, parents, aunts, uncles, nieces, or nephews, but it is in force today only against married couples. Needless to say, this custom has given rise to numerous jealous arguments in which a wife complains about her husband's being chosen by one particular woman, or the husband protests his wife's choice of partners.

It is therefore probably a wise ruling that considers it in bad taste for dancing partners to carry on a conversation.

36: Dempsey H-4,5 (1952) 1956 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
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535 At the Horns' sponsored dance at Christmas, 1952, it was noticed that four women
548 chose to dance together as two couples within the recognized circle but in the opposite
direction to the general group. Upon inquiry, it was learned that these women were *mat-sah-keets*, or prostitutes. Although their type of dancing had occurred at other gatherings in the past, informants were not sure if it was a Blood custom, or merely the painted ladies' method of flouting accepted Blood traditions.

535 A modern innovation in the Owl Dance occurs at the annual summer Sun Dance
177 ceremonies. On this religious occasion, Owl Dances are held almost every afternoon
796 and evening within an enclosed circle. It has become the custom to turn some of the
dances into dedication ceremonies for prominent members of the reserve who have
[769] died during the past year.

535 A son or close relative of the deceased stands before the crowd with a large framed
769 picture of the honored person, while the announcer calls for donations to his memory.
The donations, ranging from one to twenty dollars, are given to the announcer, to-
431 gether with information as to which visitor is to receive them.

The money, usually in one dollar bills, is pinned to the edge of the picture frame, until the photograph of the honored Blood is wreathed in money. When the collection has been completed, the Owl Dance begins with the holder of the picture dancing or walking at the head of the line.

When the dance has ended, the announcer removes the money and calls out the name of the visitor to receive it. At the Sun Dance of 1952, for example, more than forty dollars were given to Joe Crowfoot, grandson of the former head chief of the Blackfoot, within a few minutes. Most of this amount was made up of one and five dollar donations from individual Bloods.

535 Throughout their ceremonies, the Bloods are continually adapting their old beliefs
177 and customs to the modern way of life, and the Owl Dance is typical of a ceremony
178 which will likely withstand the onslaught of modern music and dancing. It stands as
a prime example of the new and the old in the gradual assimilation of the plains Indian into modern society.

Edmonton, Alberta, Canada

sides, thinned toward the ends but not sharpened, and about this long. [Scraping White indicated a distance of about 2 inches between his thumb and forefinger.] Then sinew was wrapped around the ends of the skewers and they were tied, each skewer to a 4-strand plaited rawhide rope. The two ropes were fastened at their far ends to the center pole at its forks. 796 785

I stood up and Yellow Horn told me, "Now you walk up, put your arms around the center pole and pray. Tell sun, now your vow is being fulfilled." I did just as he told me. Then I stepped back. Yellow Horn pulled hard on the rawhide ropes attached to the skewers. Then I danced. I didn't dance long before my flesh gave way and the skewers pulled out. Yellow Horn came to me and cut the skin that had broken. He trimmed it off even. Then he gave me the pieces of skin he had cut away and told me to take them and stick them in the ground at the base of the center pole, saying, "Now sun, I have completed my vow." 796 785 782 [535] ●

Heavy Head's narrative of his torture experience was still more detailed: 785

There were only two of us, Buffalo Teeth, my partner, and I. We went to war together to take horses. At Medicine Hat we found a small camp of Cree half-breeds. It was night when we saw their camp. It was moonlight. I looked up at the moon and prayed to it, "I shall be tortured at the sun dance if I have good luck and get home safely." Then I stole up to the camp and got one bay that was tied in front of a lodge without any of the enemy waking or seeing me. Buffalo Teeth took a roan. We started back to the Blood camp, traveled three days and three nights with no food other than a black rabbit. We got awfully weak and hungry. 726 721 785

When I reached home I told my story to my father, Water Bull. The old man got up and sang his encouraging song. Then he told me, "My son, you have done something worth doing. You have made a vow that you will be tortured at the sun dance. You must do it this coming sun dance." 785 554 [533] [796]

A few days later I went out to the east point of Belly Butte to fast. While I fasted I dreamed that a sacred person came to me and gave me a drum and certain herbs to use for doctoring. Then I returned home. 787 752

A short time after that the bands began to come together for the sun dance encampment. I prepared myself to go to an old man named Little Bear, a relative of mine, who had been through the torture himself, years before. I 785 796

was always asked of the man undergoing the 785
torture before his breasts were pierced, and the
one doing the cutting always did just the 796
opposite of the young man's request. So when
I said "thin," Red Bead knew to make his incisions
deep).[3] Red Bead gave four of his own
war coups. He made no prayer. Then he pierced
my breasts with the sharp arrowhead and inserted
a serviceberry stick through each breast.
The sticks were not sharp but flattened at the
ends. The other two men held my arms as he
cut and inserted the sticks. Blood flowed down
my chest and legs over the white paint. Then
Red Bead pressed the sticks against my body
with his hands. They turned me around to face
the sun and pierced my back. To the skewers 785
on my back they hung an imitation shield, not
so heavy as a war shield. The shield had 796
feathers on it, but I don't remember how it was
painted. It belonged to a man named Peninsula. 714

The ropes were brought out from the center
pole and tied to the skewers in my breasts— 785
right side first, then left side. Red Bead then
grabbed the ropes and jerked them hard twice. 796
Then he told me, "Now you go to the center [782]
pole and pray that your vow will come true."
I walked up there. I knew I was supposed to
pretend to cry. But oh! I really cried. It hurt
so much. Coming back from the center pole I
was shouting. Then, before I started to dance,
I jerked the shield off my back.

I leaned back and began dancing, facing the
center pole. It felt just like the center pole was
pulling me toward it. I began to dance from the [535] ●
west toward the doorway of the sun lodge and
back. Then, when the skewers did not break
loose, the old men realized that the incisions
had been made too deep. Red Bead came up
and cut the outside of the incisions again so
they would break loose. As I started dancing
again the left side gave way and I had to continue
dancing with only my right side holding.
An old man named Strangling Wolf jumped up
from the crowd and came toward me shouting.
He called out four coups he had counted and
jumped on me. The last rope gave way and I
fell to the ground.

The three old men came to me and cut the
rough pieces of flesh hanging from my breasts
off even. They told me to take this flesh that
had been trimmed off, and the sagebrush from
my head, wrists, and ankles, and place them at
the base of the center pole. I did as they told
me.

[3] Jenness, pp. 54-5, reported the same contrariness of action on the part of the Sarcee surgeon when the suppliant pleaded for a "thin" cutting. [171]

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291
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535 ●

[P.44-A]

47. Women dressed in cloth costumes dancing, ca. 1910.

> his five fingers, with which he spun the web, upon which So-at-sa-ki was let down 821
> from the sky. Whenever you see half-buried and overgrown circles, or clusters of 342
> stones on the plains, marking the sites of Blackfeet camps in the ancient days, 773
> when they used stones to hold down the sides of their lodges, you will know why the half-circle of the stars was called by our fathers, "The lodge of the Spider Man."

In another place (McClintock, 1910, p. 492) Brings-Down-the-Sun, 342
in discussing the origin of the Sun Dance, pointed out:

> We know not when the Sun-dance had its origin. It was long ago, when the Blackfeet used dogs for beasts of burden instead of horses; when they stretched the legs and bodies of their dogs on sticks to make them large, and when they used stones instead of wooden pegs to hold down their lodges.

During the years immediately preceding 1909, Clark Wissler recorded information on the material culture of the Blackfoot Indians. He notes (Wissler, 1910, p. 108):

> During the winter, or even at any time, the cover of the tipi was often held down by stones laid on its edges. Circles of such stones are to be seen in many parts of the Blackfoot country, marking the sites of former camps or burial tipis.

Wissler (1913, p. 430) takes the following from Duvall's notes on the 346
construction of the Ma'toki dance structure made from lodge covers, [575]
with rocks to weight down the bottoms:

> The ma'toki dance but once a year when the camp circle is formed. Their [535]
> ceremony lasts four days. First they make a shelter somewhat like the one used [796]
> for the sun dance. A tipi pole is set up in the center, with a peculiar cross piece near the top. A number of travois are set in a circle around this pole and joined together by tipi poles tied along the top, making a single railing all the way around. Then other tipi poles are tied to this and to the cross piece on the center pole, forming rafters like in the sun dance shelter. On the sides and over the top are stretched tipi covers. At the bottom they are weighted with stones. Along the sides within blankets are suspended.

It has been noted that another neighbor of the Blackfoot, the Crow 342
Indians to the south, used rocks to weigh down their lodge covers. 171
During visits to the Crow Reservation during the period 1907–16, Lowie (1922, p. 224) obtained the following information concerning the practice:

> Bear Crane stated that long ago rocks instead of pegs were used to weigh down the bottom of tipi covers; another informant restricts the practice to the winter season.

There are, perhaps, other documentary references to the topic that have escaped my attention, but those cited are numerous enough, it is believed, to indicate that the Blackfoot, Cree, Crow, Dakota, and probably other tribes in the northwestern Plains employed stones or occasionally sod as lodge-cover bottom weights. Our references cover the period from 1833 down to contemporary times, when stones are rarely seen, and the wooden tent peg appears to be ubiquitous.

126 Horn," with a buffalo robe draped round him, and be-
tween him and Big Snake is Wah-nis-stow, "The White
Buffalo," principal chief of the Sar-cee tribe. In the
background stand two chiefs of inferior quality, one of
them has his face painted half black, being in half-
123 mourning for some friend. As they were expecting to
[535] have a fight with the Crees next day, they got up a
[726] medicine dance in the afternoon, and I was solemnly
invited to attend, that I might add my magical powers
126 in increasing its efficacy. Amongst all the tribes here
123 assembled, the sacredness of the medicine pipe-stem is
[778] held in very high estimation, and it was with much
solemnity that I was placed in the best position, to work
my incantations; that is to say, to make the sketch
No. 18.

609 Next morning we embarked, after having presented
572 the chiefs with eight or ten pounds of tobacco to be
distributed amongst the rest, and had not proceeded many miles, when we had to put ashore again to gratify an old Blood Indian chief, who had arrived at the camp shortly after our departure, and had galloped immediately after us, for the purpose of having a talk with Mr. Harriett, whom he had known many years before, and for whom he entertained the warmest friendship. After the talk, he stripped himself naked, excepting his breech-cloth. Mr. Harriett, not to be behindhand with him, gave him everything but his shirt and pantaloons: it was rather a losing operation for him; although the chief's leather shirt and leggings were quite new and highly ornamented, yet they were not exactly what Mr. Harriett would like to wear, so he gave them to me to add to my stock of Indian costumes. One of the Indians who had accompanied the old chief, noticing I had a new capote on, thought he would try what could

47: Kane R,T-3 (1848) 1925 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

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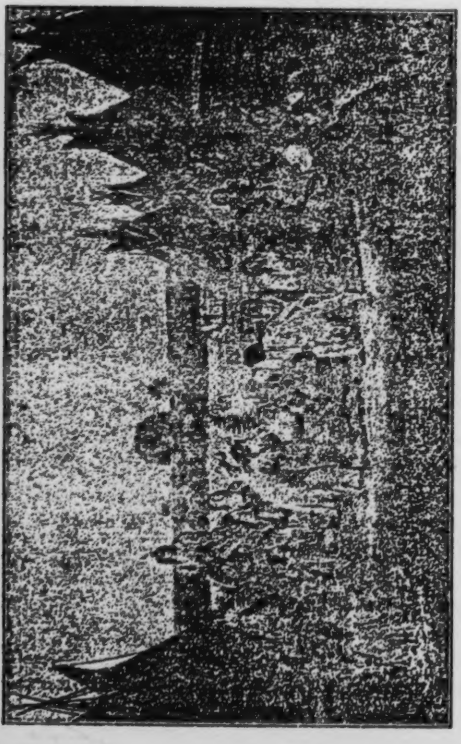

No. 18—Medicine Pipe-stem Dance.

A few days later they started on a new trip. Bear-chief was the 115
leader. There were four Peigans, and seventy Crows. The Sioux 726
were looking out for enemies, and saw the party coming. Then [648]
they made a charge on Bear-chief and his people. The Crows did their very best to escape. Bear-chief and the three other Peigans stayed behind and fought the Sioux. This was about noon, when the Sioux made a charge on them, and it was late in the evening, before they stopped fighting. They started home that evening, and travelled all night. Early in the morning Bear-chief killed a buffalo-cow. They skinned it, and commenced their breakfast. Whilst they were eating, they saw on a high bank, just above them, a rider. He spoke to Bear-chief's people, and before they could answer him, two more jumped up at his side, and shot at Bear-chief's companions. But then, seeing that there were so many, they ran away. They were Sioux. The Crows went after those Sioux. Bear-chief and the three others went in the opposite direction, where they saw one rider, a Sioux. This rider fled into the brushes. The others did not want to help him, but Bear-chief alone followed him, and shot at him, every time he saw him through the brush, till the Sioux went out into the prairie, where he was hard to get at. Bear-chief rode up to him, and the Sioux would shoot him, but Bear-chief's horse kicked the gun out of the Sioux' hands, and ran over him. The Sioux got up, and took his gun. He shot at Bear-chief twice, and the third time the gun refused to work. Then Bear-chief attacked him with a butcher-knife, cut him over his face, and near his heart, and cut off his head before he died. Then all the Crows, the whole seventy, came up. In the meantime Bear-chief's three companions, that stood upon a hill, had taken eight horses from the Sioux, who was fighting Bear-chief. They travelled night and day to get home.

The Crows were very glad, that a Sioux had been killed, though 115
they did not kill him themselves. Then the Peigans held a counsel,
and invited Bear-chief among them. The chiefs told Bear-chief, 727
that he had done many daring deeds, and that he was already a [555]
chief on account of those, but that they now would give him a [559]
new name, instead of Takes-the-first-gun (Itóminàmaχka), the name [551]
he had borne till that moment. It was decided upon, that he
should be called Bear-chief (Nínoχkyàio), after old Big-nose. And [585]
then they had scalp-dances every night, for a week or more.

A few days after that there were five in a party. Bear-chief was 115
the leader. They went to the Sioux. They saw the camp at a long 726
distance. He told his party to stay behind, whilst he himself would

115 go on a high butte to locate the camp. Afterwards they should
726 come up to him. But he waited and waited, and they did not
come. He waited until dark, and when they failed to come, he
started for the camp, but he could not find it. He walked a long
time about, seeking for the camp, and at last he returned to his
hiding-place, and stayed there all the day. And at night he started
again for the camp. This night there was clear moon-light, and
still he could not find the camp, though he was seeking for it
115 all the night. He had to go back to his hiding-place. During the
726 next day he prayed to the holy medicine-pipe, and said, that he
would use that pipe to dance with, if it would grant him, that
778 he might steal some horses. That pipe, Bear-chief prayed to, was
[782] the only pipe in this tribe, which might be used at the Round
[535] dance, when they were dancing all round the outside of the circle
camp. It was given to the tribe by an elk. That night he started
115 early by moon-light. Then he found the camp, and he could plainly
726 see the women cooking outside of their lodges. As soon as the
women went into the lodges, Bear-chief went to the camp, and
cut loose the rope of a bay horse. The owner was near, and gave
the alarm. Then all the people came out with their guns. He
jumped on the bay horse, and left his own horse, with saddle,
bridle, and blanket, and made his escape. He travelled all night
and all day. When he camped in the evening, it rained very
hard, and it continued to rain during the night. He had no blanket.
His only cover was a buckskin shirt. The following morning, when
he was on his way home, he met a party of Indians who had
stolen horses. He asked them, if they were strangers to him. They
did not say anything, but commenced to shoot at him. He ran
away. Perhaps they were Sioux. They chased him till a hollow
place in a big hill, where there was some brush. Then he came
out of the brush, and they shot at each other from a long distance.
115 They left him, and it rained very hard. He got on his
727 horse, and started to ride away. He came to Bear river, and then
646 he was almost frozen by the cold rain. Then he came to the
camp of 12 white men, who had been chasing buffalo. One of
these white men recognized him as Big-nose's adoptive son. Bear-chief's
wet clothes were taken off from him, and dry blankets
were given to him instead. They gave him half a cup full of
whiskey to drink. They made him lie down, and covered him up
with some more robes. He stayed there with the white men two
115 nights, and then he started home. His companions came to their
727 leader. They had not come to him on the butte, because they had

539 726 kaiks, áitsinitsìuaiks. Káukoχtòkiaiks. Itotsímmotau. A'aχkyapipiksiu. Omátauakòkatsaie, omátoχkonòkatsaie. Tǽmaχsauànìnaiiu. A'utsætoχkìm moyísts, itokékau. Itáutapimàu. Itáiaksistsipìm otótokånìmists. Itáipikìm sikíi. Iχ'tsitǽsikskiuaie. Iχ'táumistsinitàpomaχkau kauaχkuísts. A'istsìsi moyísts, omá inoχtóau aistæmótosikskiu. Itáutaminapìstutsim akókatsists. Itå'χkanaiapåχ-
539 727 pàtskotsiu. A'istæmisksinoau: A'kotamiatàiaiop. Itáumatapsàiχ'piu. Itǽtæχsiaiòp. Itáisitokòmaχkau. Itǽskunækiòp. Itauásokòmaχkaup.

[535]

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[302]

young man] overtook them [the two enemies] first. They [the two enemies] jumped off their horses. That young man had a plume for top-knot. He also jumped off in front [of them two]. Then they made a charge on one another. He [the Peigan] was shot at by one of them. He [the Peigan] jumped at him in spite [of his shooting]. He took his [the enemy's] gun from him. He killed him. That way he got a gun. One of them [of the two enemies] had arrows. And another [Peigan] took his quiver and arrows [from him]. And the other people took his scalp. There they [the enemies] were, there they [the Peigans] killed them. They [the enemies who were scalped] had only their ears left. Then they [the Peigans] ran to escape. They ran home. They were not chased by him [by the enemy], they were not found by him. Then they had a good scalp-dance [before they arrived in the camp of the Peigans]. [When] they were near the camp, then they camped. They put up shades. Then they tied up their scalps. Then they mashed up char-coal. They blacked their faces with it. They ran down the coulees. When the lodges were close by, that one that had a relative killed [by the enemy] blacked his face all over. Then they [the returning warriors] gave a signal to the circle-camp. Then all the people [in the camp] crowded each other about. Then

Ki omá námaχkau áutòmomaχkau. Aitspyómaχkàs, ótapìsin itǽskunækiòp. Itǽsksksisiu: Nikáitâχpatsisìsaχpi, onáunai nitótoain. Ki itáitsotsistsinatomoau. Okóaii tǽmitsipìm. Matsisæmóa itomoóyi Mátokeks. Itsitápoχtoòiaiks. Itsitótòiaiks okóaii omá saiínikiu. A'ítotsinòkimaiaiks. O'ksòkoaiks ótoχkansokomaχkokaiks. Ponokâ'mitai, piápi, ǽnnyaie nitsókomàχkiu. Ki omá stsíka ponopáni mátsinàmaχkau mátsitapoiau Mátokeks. Mátsinokimakàiks. Píapìi kákakàuo ótsokomaχkòaχpiaiks. Ki stsíkim iníkùim Mátokeks mátsitotsinòkimaiau. Ki ámoii píapi matakáuo mátsokomaχkòyiuaiks. Itonítsotsèiau: O'kí, anétakìt, ǽnni nínauàki, áχkitonìtoχsòp. Kitoχkémaiks apâ'χpiskinisàu. A'iakauâχkìsiau. Sìiámists itáisapoχkyàkiu, okámipuyisaàmists, atskináisaàmists. Mátsitaisapoχkyàkiu áuotànists, áiistsâχsatòmiau. Ninámiskaχkùiinnimànists matáiistsâχsatòmiau. Saáitsikoχkìniks mátâχkiniâχsatsìauaiks. A'pâχsoyisokàsists mátaisapskâχsatòminauaists. Sapæpístatsiks iχ'táutauanàuaχkìsiau, ækspíkainàmaiks mátoχtautauanàuaχkìsiau, ki omá námaχkau omí námaii otoχké-

they [the returning warriors] were 539
known: We shall have a circle 727
in sight. Then they [the people
in the camp] made a rush out.
We ran singing scalp-songs. Then [533]
they [the returning warriors] ran
through the camp. We were
shooting. We began to run across
one another.

And that one that got a gun
ran ahead [of his companions].
When he ran into the camp, we
— all the people — were shooting.
Then he told what he had
done: There he lies, where I shot
him down. I took his gun from
him. And then the women yelled
for him. He then entered his
lodge. After a short while the 539
Women-society gathered. They 727
[the women of that society] went
to him. They came to the lodge 575
of him who had killed [an enemy] 555
and counted coup. They had [535]
there a happy dance. All his
relations gave presents for him [431]
[to the dancing women]. Horses
[and] things were the presents
they made. And the Women-society
also would go to the other
one who had taken the quiver
and arrows and counted coup.
They also had a happy dance for 539
him [in his honour]. There were 727
many things given to them [to 575
the dancing women] by him [by 555
his relations] for presents. And 535
the Women-society would also [431]
have a happy dance for still
another one who killed an enemy.
And there were many things again
given to them by him [by his [431]

539 man mátoχtautauanàuaχkìsin. Ki
727 akå´χtsimaie ómæχkètæχsin. A´u-
535 matapauaχkìsin ótakèsin. A´kai-
[555] kanistsinìm opokáiimatsists. A´ita-
[575] nistsinatsiaists ánni otsikékinaχ-
[431] soàts. Omá saχkínau námaχkau
omí nápii kákitsitokapoχtasiu-
[302] anàakaie. Ki otáiapitæχskotokàie.
[292]

relations]. They hurried one another: Come on, make haste, all of you, men, that we may have the scalp-dance. You must put paint on the faces of your wives. They [your wives] will shake their heads [dance]. They [the men] put on the war-bonnets, the war-bonnets with tails down the back [literally: the war-bonnets standing straight up], [and] the horn-war-bonnets. They [the men] would put on shields, they would pack them on their backs. They would also pack medicine-pipes on their backs. They put sleigh-bells on their necks. They also put on weasel-tail-suits. Some of them would use spears as canes while dancing, others would use bows as canes while dancing, and the wife of him who had taken the gun would use that gun as a cane while dancing. And there was a big scalp-dance. Now the women began to shake their heads [to dance]. [293] They already held their fans. They [the fans] looked like snow-birds [literally: shoulder-bone-tail-feathers]. That young man that took the gun was just led round about through the crowd by an old man. [533] [555] And he [this old man] was singing old man's songs [praises] to him.

539 Ki omímа ómåχtsinìkiχ pim^
726 otáutsapàakaie. Itsáipiu. Itáuauχ-
[721] kàutsimiuaie. A´isakayayìu ótakèsi-
ma. Maiáiks moyísts spóχtsim
atoksípistàn ánnimaie taiχ´tsiu.
A´istæmauauaχkautsìm ksistsikús.
A´ikakaiåχtsimiàu námaiksa´χtàs.

And he was pursued by those people, one of whom he had killed. [They came near the Peigan camp.] Then they [the Peigans] made a charge on them. Then they [the Peigans] had a fight with them. All the women ran out fast.

^ [Erratum: this should read ómåχ tsinìkiχpim--Analyst]

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224

539 Nepúsi nâχkáipaskau. Nitái-
535 niχ`katomamìχ´k opáskani satsi-
kínamaipaskàn. Nínaiks iχ´táu-
taksaistoiauaie, máχksipaskàni:
O'kí, anétakìt, áχkitunnasatsikì-
namaipaskàup. Annístsi matáinis-
tainiχ´katòm otákòpiχ´tàn. A'n-
nistsìi onâ´χksisotàpsìmiks áinà-
natòmiau. A`kéks áikaχtsìiχ´kiau.
Oχkíni annístsisk otsítakaχ-
539 tspuàuaists. Nisóiaists. A'nni ni-
524 tánnokakinakuiàu. A'nni nitoá-
piksimàists. Nátokaists nitáiniχ´-
katòm, pitséksinai. Kennístsi náto-
kai nitáiniχ`katòm, kanáumoχ-
pìisaists, náu. Nistókiòmoχpìi-
saists, namístokiau nitáiniχ`katò-
maists omikátsimàn. Annístsi
àkéks: Mistsísi áipiksìínimiauaists.
Inoksíaists. Iχ´tástamàkaχtsìau-
aists. Nitáinikatâ`χp istámakaχ-
tsìsin. A`kéks ánnyaie nitáikaχ-
tsìau. Nínaiks áipeksikaχtsìau.
Kepúyi otsítsitskimatsoàuaists.
Omá túkskaie otsinán inoyíu,
ksisátàtsisi. Ki amóksi tapóχtsik
otsinánoaii saχkíu. A'nnistsiaie
aitáksisatàiau. Kiníniiua áumo-
tsàkiu. Mátsitstsìi pápainimìksai.
Nitáiniχ`kataiìu áipèksiksisatài.

but only the meat carried by them]. That woman [the mother-in-law] would pull the meat down [from the horses]. All the choicest parts of the meat he gave to his father-in-law. And if the girl [the young-married woman] was foolish, if she had a side-husband, then he [her husband] would kill her. He would not be ashamed of her father, his father-in-law.

In summer they [the Peigans] had a dance. They called their dance „scrape-leg-dance". The chiefs went through the camp crying, that they would have a dance: Come on, make haste, that we may have a scrape-leg-dance. They called some other dances of theirs their „main-dances". Their warriors owned those [main-dances]. The women gambled. It was with bones, that they gambled. There were four of them [of those bones]. This is the length of the bones. This way they threw them. [Saying the last two sentences Blood showed me, how long the bones were, and how they were thrown]. They called two of them „snakes". The other two, if they turned over, were called „six". If the two turned over twice, then they were called „falling on the edge". Another [game] [that] the women [had] [is as follows]: They peeled sticks. They were long sticks. They played a stake-game with them. It was called the „stake-game". That is

otsítauakokàiks, otsítsinokaiks, otsítsinàtapitsikaiks. Ki omí otsínaimoauai osókùsimi otsitǽnnitsiniautomòk. Otoχkænáistotòχsists iχ´kanáuænnitsinotomoàuaists. Káksistomiu, kǽnnyaie itóto okóaii. Mátsitstsipa áχksistsìtaki. Ostói otátsàpsinai, iχ´tǽnnitsinotomoau. A´utòiau, àkokátsis. Tǽtsikaχtsim okóauau, paiotúkokìop.

Otsítanikoaiau otsínaimoauai. Omá otómæχkakàuaiau ki ǽnnyaie amóks otǽkàuauaiks itanístsiuaiks, kanáipuχsapuχsau. Ki otǽmokoaiau. Maistáuanok áitåχkanaipìmiau. Itokákiχ´tsimaiau, mǽχksipæskàniau. Apinákusi áiàksipæskàii Kakuíks. Apinákus itsipǽskaiau. A´ipæskàiau, asáni ostúmoauaists itåχkǽnausoksksìau. O´χpsòauaists okímmanoàuaists aitakópiiau saå´χtsim. Omíkai otómæχkakàuaiau anníkai otápæskokòaiau. O´miks akimóχtsiks anníksi nínaii. Túkskæma

They were the watch-men. And 539
[if] a man would chase the buf- 575
falo, he would hide. The buffalo 224
would all run away [scared by the
man that chased them secretly].
[When] a man was chasing the 539
buffalo [by himself], he was seen 575
by the Doves, he was chased 627
by them, he was caught by them,
he was thrown down off his horse
by them. And their chief tore
his clothes [viz. of the man that
was chasing by himself] to pieces.
All his clothes were torn to pieces.
He was just naked [literally: he
just had a body], [when] he
came to his lodge. There was
no person, that might become
angry [when he had been treated
that way]. It was his own foolishness,
that he had his clothes
torn. They [the Doves] went by 539
themselves, when they [the Pei- 575
gans] were camped in a circle.
In the centre [of the circle] was
their lodge, it was built out of
two lodges.

They were ordered by their
chief [as follows]. Their oldest
partner told their partners, that
they should all come to him [the
chief]. And so they [the Doves]
were invited [to their chief's
lodge] [by mouth of the oldest
partner]. They all entered Crow's-tail-feather's
lodge [Crow's-tail-feather
was the name of their
chief]. They decided, that they 539
would have a dance. Next mor- 575
ning the Doves would have a 535
dance. Next morning they danced.
[When] they had the dance,

539 apí'si otsináni ki *á*pssì. Túksk*a*ma
575 áuannàyiu, ki mátopiu. Ki ómiks
535 nátok*a*mi ot*a*χkúikakòiau. Ki
ómiksim nátok*a*mi ipotóχtsiks
*á*nnìksimaie kyáiek*a*kòiau. Nisoóyi otspíuåχsoàuaists.

Aisap*á*nnistsosìists, ítoχk*a*nautsimotàua. Itáisaipìiau, akéks ómoχtapaisummospiau. K*é*nnyaie áitapsaipìiau. Ksip*á*mmànists ìskun*á*katsimiauaists. Itáisaikimiskàiau. Aiksuósau, akókàtsists itáutakòiau. Imitáiks ápàuyiau. Tsísiks mátauyiauaiks. A'istunniausiks. Aiksuósau, mátsitàumatapòtsimiau máχksoatòχpiau, áχsiists ìksisakuists. K*é*nnimaie okóauai, t*a*tsikíakokèuaχsini. Itå'χkanaipstsipoχtòmiau otáksoåχsoauai. O'miks Ot*a*χkúik*a*kuiks áuyòsiau, Kyáiek*a*kuiks *á*nniksaie áutomisoyìauaiks. Nepúsi túkskai nisoói áip*a*skàiau. Itáiksuòiau. Ot*á*st*a*kakoaiau óm*a*χkakunakàtsiks. Otáuanikoaiauaiks, máχk*a*sks*a*mmoχsàua kanáitapì. Aut*a*mákoχtòmiau óχpsòauaists okímmanoauaists. A'iksiuoiau op*á*skanoauai, mátatstunnatàpsiauaiks. A'netoiau, mist*á*ki itapístutsìau, mátatap*a*skàuaiks. Stuyís túksk*a*mi einí áuauakimàiau.

they put the paint all over their bodies. With their arrows and their top-knots they sat outside in a circle. Their oldest partners were the ones that made them dance. Those at the upper end were the chiefs. One of them had a coyote-skin and an arrow. Another of them had a rattle, and he had also an arrow. And two of them were called the Yellow Doves. And there were two in the lower part of the circle, that were [called] the Bear-Doves. They danced four times.

When [the dances] were completed, all the people would run away. They [the Doves] made a charge on [the place], where the women got water. There it was, [that] they made a charge. They shot at the water-bags. Then they [those bags] leaked. When they stopped [shooting], then they went around the circle-camp. They shot at the dogs. They did not shoot at the bob-tailed ones. They were afraid of them [of the bob-tailed dogs]. When they stopped, they began to take something that they might eat, choice meat. There was their lodge, the lodge in the centre. They brought everything, that they would eat, in [to their lodge]. The Yellow Doves cooked, the Bear-Doves were the ones, that they [the Doves] fed first. In one summer they danced four times. They stopped. The older members of the society relied on

Mátsiks nistóa nitáiikoputostuyìmi nimátsitoχk*a*n*a*kàtsi. Itsipúmmotsèiau aχkúiinnimàn. Itsítsapiχ´takiu píksistsimàn. Itsitsípim omím moyísim. Omí Mátsi it*o*χkútsiuaie aχkúiinnimàn. Otáukotoχsàie omí aχkúiinnimàn, ánistsiuaie: Kit*á*tsiàtsisi noχkoχkókit. Ki omá Mátsiua ánistsiua: A´, kítoχkot. A´nistsiuaie: A´uke, ksáχkuma itsínit. Kàksimí itst*a*kít. Sip*á*tsimoii ákoχtamatòsimaup. Kamiχ´t*á*stsiu, *á*nnimaie kitákitamatòsim. Åχké kó'sa asáni ákoχtsiksistsikìmistau. Otsítanikaie: *A*nisóminìt. Ki omá manikȧ´pina áisòminiu. Ki omím ksistsikímistàni asáni ts*á*piχ´tsiu. Ki itótsimaie. Otoχk*a*náistumì asáni iχ´toχk*á*nauanistutsìp. Sikúsikoχtàii iχ´tsákoapiniȧχpiskiu. Maiáii okakíni it*á*taikàtau. Imakáχsisi maiáii ákataikatàinai. Túkskai matsikísts *á*nnyaie nitsúyi ostói itótstsists. Iχ´kanáuanistutoiau ot*á*kaiks. Mátsiks áiksistsìppummòaiau.

them [the young Doves]. They [the 539
young Doves] were told by them 575
[the older members], that they 535
should watch all the people. Then they fixed up their arrows [and] their top-knots. [When] they had stopped their dancing, they were not dangerous. They separated, they moved to the mountains, they did not dance any more [during that summer]. In winter the only thing they chased was the buffalo.

I was thirteen years old, when 539
I became a member of the society 575
of the Braves. They gave a pipe to 276
one another. He [the youth that entered the society] put in the tobacco with other weeds. He entered the lodge. He gave the pipe to a Brave. When he had given him the pipe, he said to him: Give me your Brave-badge.
And the Brave answered him: 539
Yes, I give it you. He [the Brave] 575
told him: Now, touch the earth. Put sage there [on the earth]. We shall use sweet-grass for incense. You will make your incense with the buffalo-chip-fire. We shall make the paint liquid in the cup of water. Then [the Brave] told him: Now take off your clothes. And the young man [that entered the society] took off his clothes. And the paint was in the liquid. And he took it. And he put the paint all over his body. With the black paint, the black liquid, he was painted that way beneath each eye, that it looked like tears. There was a round hole

539
575

Màtsísini otsínaimoaiau áuanàyin. Amóksi ap*á*tsiau, ki amóksi káp*a*màni, k*e*nní túksk*a*m síksiksàtsi, ki ómiks nátok*a*mi Kyáiatsiks. Ikóksin*à*miau. Ki áip*a*skàiau, otsinánoauaists
539 ómoχtaip*a*skaχpuauaists mistsísau, istoái
575 mínoχkoχtsi. *Á*nniksaukiaiks itstsíauaiks.
535 *Á*nniksi iχ´táiχ´piiau. Ksaχkúmi it*á*stautoyìau. Omíksim Kyáiatsiks aiχ´písau, ki amóksi otsítstautoau itáisautoyìau. Omíksi ikáistunnoyìau. Itáksiksuoiau. Itáiksistsip*a*skàiau, åχkéists óm*a*χksikimists táutaipìau. Imakáχsisi matsikyóauaists, itáiistàpiksìmiauaists. Itauáχkaiìau akókàtsi, itáutakòiau. Omíksi otóm*a*χkakauaiauaiks itáipuyìaiks. *Á*kaisoatsistsisaapùyi. A´iak*a*naitsiniotakii.
539 Mátsiks áiakàpotaχkàiau. Amáupit,
575 áiaksiniχ´kì ikáiks. Min*á*tsistsèkinit. Apinákusi áiakopakìau.

cut in the back-part of his robe. Even if his robe was very good, there would be a hole cut in it. His moccasins were the only thing, that was left on him. All his partners were treated the same way. The Braves had done being initiated.

The chief of the Braves had a rattle. There were [two] White Braves, and there were [two] owners of water-bags, and one owner of a willow-switch, and there were two Bear-Braves. They were very mean. And [when] they [these Bear-Braves] danced, the things that belonged to them, they were dancing with, were sticks, and a knife at the end [of each stick]. There they put [the knife]. With those things they danced. They stuck them [the sticks] in the ground. When the Bear-Braves danced, then they pulled out those [sticks] that they had stuck in [the ground]. [The people] were very much afraid of them. They would quit. [When] they had done dancing, they ran to the waters of lakes. Even if their moccasins were good, they threw them away. [When] they went back [to] the circle-camp, they went around. The older members were standing there. They [the Braves] gave orders [to the main camp] not to go about [out of their lodges]. They would tear them [the people] to pieces [if they did not obey]. The Braves were going around to get leggings.

796 attitude of relaxed sincerity coupled with the inevitable Indian good
522 humor. Sometimes the old functionary would forget the chants and
have to back up and start again, or someone else would foul up in some detail of ceremony (the drummers never once goofed), but nobody seemed to think that he would be damned to the unhappy hunting ground because of his error. Instead, everyone just had a good laugh at himself and then carried on. The Indian belief gives God credit for having a sense of humor, which is more than I can say for some other, rather dreary religious persuasions.

122 About midway of the ceremony, there was a long break for lunch.
Brought into the room were large baskets of food and a big kettle
796 of something which turned out to be berry soup. And the huge cof-
262 feepot and another tremendous pot containing hot tea. Everyone
—man, woman, and child—was given a plate piled high with food. And I mean *piled high.* I was handed a paper plate stacked with a big chunk of boiled beef, three frankfurters, two boiled eggs, soda crackers, grease bread, cookies, two big pieces of berry cake and an orange. This in addition to a mug of tea.

I was having too much fun to be really hungry, so I gave away (to the kids) everything except the berry cakes, which were delicious, and the tea. Then Mary Ground sought me out and handed me a paper cup filled with the thick berry soup. It was marvelous—slightly tart, the way I like things—and I drank it all and went looking for more. The soup, the main ingredients of which are juneberries (serviceberries) and bitterroots, is almost identical to something the Swedes call fruit soup. When I was a fumbling undergraduate—before I became a fumbling graduate—I wrote a paper attempting to suggest a valid relationship between Algonkin, of which Blackfoot is a subdivision, and Old Norse (an idea which did not originate with me but which I still consider worthy of pursuit). My instructor ridiculed my sophomoric efforts, suggesting, with typical Germanic vitriol, that I should instead attempt to prove that the Blackfoots were the Lost Tribes of Israel. But he (aha!) had never tasted berry soup. (I had not attempted to trace the origin of the Blackfoots themselves but only certain aspects of their culture.)

After lunch, the ceremony continued, and during the afternoon
122 the actual dancing took place. Only the men danced, and each man
796 danced individually. The dancing of the American Indian today fol-
535 lows a pretty universal pattern, I think. At least I cannot distinguish
the dancing patterns of the Sioux, the Crow, the Cheyenne, the
177 Arapahoe, the Shawnee, the Pueblo or the Blackfoot one from the
[292 other, and this of course can be attributed to the same wide cultural

borrowing which has made the Sioux war bonnet an ubiquitous addition 292
to the costume of the American Indian generally. Even the 177
Blackfoots now wear the Sioux-style headdress; the true Blackfoot [122]
eagle-feather bonnet had the feathers standing straight up all around. [796]
The feathered trailer on the Sioux-style bonnet, now seen from [535]
coast to coast, and on tribes that formerly never wore a headdress
at all, originally came from the Mandan Indians of the upper Missouri.
The Mandans gave their women to the White Man and their
culture to the other Indian tribes, and so now the Mandans are no
more.

Of course, it was pretty difficult to detect any choreographic individualism 796
at the Pipe Dance because most of the dancers were 535
very old and could achieve little more than a rhythmic stamping of
the feet. Dan Bull Plume danced, supporting himself with a heavy
cane. Fish, the blind drummer, danced as well as a sightless man
can. And the young drummer, whose name, I learned, is Joe Horn,
danced magnificently. Borrowing the Chief's eagle-wing fan, and
obtaining an identical fan from another old man, Joe held the fans,
one in each hand, stiff-armed straight out before him. At each strong
drumbeat, he dipped the wings downward with a quick motion of
his wrists, and the movements of his feet were so subtle that he gave
the impression of being propelled around the room by the power
of the wings alone. It was a strikingly graceful performance.

The Chief later said that neither he nor Jimmy had danced because 796
the ceremony was not properly presented. Many of the formal
rituals were missing, and a great deal of the chanting was not according
to Chief Hoyle. The Chief is so religiously tolerant that I [622]
had never suspected him of being so kosher with regard to the
Indian religion. Actually, the Chief is the only Blackfoot left who
knows the old songs and ceremonies in their entirety and who can
officiate with real authority at Blackfoot religious ceremonies. These
young kids of seventy and eighty are just not with it.

The final portion of the ceremony consisted in the granting of
blessings by the chief functionary. Those that were ill, and those [755]
desirous of remaining well, knelt before old Dan Bull Plume and [751]
to the accompaniment of chanted prayers had their faces marked
with vermillion earth paint.

I'll say one thing for myself: I'm an adaptable son of a gun—at least 122
linguistically. When the Pipe Dance was over and we were getting
into the car, I heard myself say to Jim, "That berry soup was the
best they're had I liked."

lodge, making moccasins and clothing, picking berries, gathering 595
wood, hauling water, preparing food, and taking care of the chil- [461]
dren, and so far as a Blackfoot woman was concerned, the more
wives the merrier. A woman's husband traditionally had first claim
on her younger sisters as his additional wives, and if a woman had
no younger sisters she frequently shopped around and located her
husband's second wife for him. There was less work for her to do this
way, and she always had somebody to talk to.

For about an hour this afternoon I just sat and watched the flies 122
flirt with the flypaper. In case the world would like to know, about
twice as many flies light on the concave side of the paper as light
on the convex side, and about two out of every five flies that light
manage to get free again. Maybe I should compile a compendium of
my observations. After all, Mr. P. gained immortal fame by revealing
that a hungry dog will salivate when it thinks it is going to get fed
—a fact which could have been gleaned from any farm boy.

At four o'clock, Jim came in with an immense load of wood, and
his return left me free to go to town to check the mail. When I got
back, at about six, Jim said that he and Dad had already "lunched
around," so I opened a can of vegetable soup and made a jam and
peanut butter sandwich. I brought the Chief several large cans of
pineapple juice and a couple of pounds of white seedless grapes. I
think he needs more of this kind of food. He ate some of the grapes
and went immediately to bed. While I was taking off his moccasins, 122
it occurred to me that he has been wearing the same sox for more 147
than a week—and God knows his feet have not touched water—but
the wool sox smell as fresh as the day I first put them on his feet. I
hate to imagine what my sox would be like after a week of constant
wear. I have never yet encountered an Indian with an unpleasant
body odor, and I credit this in part to the fact that Indians are total
strangers to nervous perspiration—they *never* become flustered, no
matter what the situation. Well, hardly ever.

After the Chief retired, I imitated Jimmy's effort of several days 122
ago and baked two pies—just to see whether I could do it. One was
cherry and the other blueberry. We ate the cherry one as soon as it
was finished, and it was not too bad for a first effort. During our 431
postprandial discussion, Jimmy let slip the fate of the leather jacket 535
and the tooled pistol holster that I gave him during my last visit. 521
The Blackfoots have something called a "give-away dance," during
which they vie with one another in seeing who can give away the [123]
most (just take a typical *White Christmas*, turn the whole thing
around backward, and you come up with the general idea). I never

431 535 527 did discover where all the stuff ends up, but undoubtedly, as do so many Blackfoot social functions, the dance centers around some sort of charity drive. Generosity, especially among the families of chiefs, was a primary virtue among the old-time Blackfoots, and from what I gathered, Jim came away from this dance in his moccasins and jockey shorts.

122 *9:45:* Jimmy has gone to bed. He must be exhausted, poor chap. And I am alone again and pretty introspective and analytical and am playing a tape of Cisco Houston singing folk songs.

No booze. I gave the last shot to the Chief this afternoon.

411

Wednesday, September 12

122 Last night I washed up and sacked out at 11:00. Three more puppies have appeared, and also a very small, very tough yellow kitten. The pups whined all night, waking me several times, and each time I waked I could hear the Chief chanting (praying). He must have prayed nearly the night long.

Jim was first up again. I was second. The Chief slept till eight. I talked Jim into having oatmeal instead of pancakes for breakfast, and I am sure that the Chief feels better because he ate a large bowl of oats and drank a glass of pineapple juice.

It was very cold out this morning, and when I went down for water I found that three horses had broken through the ice on the spring and were standing knee-deep therein. One was a beautiful

123 ticipate fully in all the ceremonies, and when the men, one by one,
796 got up to dance—including the Chief, that old rascal—I in my turn
danced too. Fish, the blind man, who was wearing a really terrific
Indian belt, danced also, but of course he had to be led onto the
floor and he could dance only in one fixed place.

During the really formal dances, the women always danced in
[801] groups of four—four being a number of some great religious significance
among the Blackfoots. I think this derives from the four directions,
for I noticed that as the smoking pipe was passed along,
the old men all blew the smoke four ways. The pipe was of the
[276] large ceremonial variety, with a stone bowl and a stem about thirty
inches long so that it was necessary to hold the bowl at arm's length
while smoking. The pipe was passed from one man to another down the line from the Chief, and as it approached I asked Jim whether there was any special way in which I was supposed to smoke it. Jim said not to worry but to watch him and do exactly as he did. So I watched Jim very carefully. And when he handed me the pipe I dutifully scratched my crotch, coughed in the face of the man on my left, and took four puffs on the pipe.

The ceremony was adjourned for the feast, and once again there was plenty for all, and once again I lapped up a bowl of Mary's berry soup and looked around, bright eyed and waggy tailed, for more.

123 After lunch came the big moment: the sacred Beaver Bundle
796 was unwrapped by the Chief. I had expected a great deal, and I
was not disappointed. The chanting and ritual which accompanied
778 the unwrapping were spine-tingling, and I found it easy to imagine
that I was seated in a Blackfoot lodge of not 1962 but of perhaps
a hundred years ago. And the contents of the Beaver Bundle were,
to me, breath-taking. There were in the bundle, in addition to the
albino crow—the whiteness of which had been reddened somewhat
with vermillion earth paint—a large number of the most beautifully
cured animal pelts I have ever seen. There were beaver, otter,
[281] mink, weasel, ermine, marten, and many others. Each pelt had been
fleshed out even to the head and toes, and I had never before fully
appreciated the efficacy of the Indian tanning procedure. I do now,
for sure.

796 There were numerous other articles contained in the Beaver Bundle,
and each article was in some way employed ceremonially as it
778 was taken from the wrapping. Four women performed a dance
535 structured around the significance of the four buffalo stones. Four
women did the Beaver Dance, each holding a beaver pelt to her

chin and holding in her mouth a small stick, in imitation of the 796
beaver. *And there was a lively number called the Prairie Chicken* 778
Dance, in performance of which the women held blankets over their 535
heads and spread their arms wide in imitation of the movements of prairie chickens. For some reason the Prairie Chicken Dance caused quite a stir of excitement among the womenfolk, and one woman (Cecile Horn) who had been standing in a doorway pulled her coat up over her head and moved out onto the floor to join the dancers. Almost immediately, another woman did the same thing.

The Blackfoots always manage to include in their religious cere- 796
monies some occasion of pure fun, and today it was the Buffalo 535
Dance—a real fun dance if such there ever was. The Buffalo Dance
was the only co-educational dance of the day—boys can't have much 522
fun without girls, let's face it—and if you want to have your own [534]
buffalo dance you need only music, people of both genders, and some buffalo hooves, polished and split and strung together on rawhide thongs so that they rattle nicely.

During the Buffalo Dance, both men and women remain seated on their respective sides of the room. Only one person at a time dances, the dancing beginning when a man takes the hooves and carries them twice around the room and on the second go-around tosses the hooves to a woman; then the woman dances twice around and tosses the hooves to a man, and so on back and forth until everybody has had his turn at dancing. But of course there is much more to it than that. The dancing is performed in imitation of the mating of the buffalo, and as the men dance they prance and stomp and grunt and lower their heads like bull buffalo, and the dancing women project the coyness and seductiveness of the buffalo cow. There is no set pattern for dancing—everyone is free to improvise and to dance as originally and as entertainingly as he can, and this is where the fun comes in. The whole proceeding radiates a tone of merriment and good humor, and when a man dances up to a woman she will shake her head in mock protest and flap her blanket or skirt at the "bull" to frighten him away. And when a woman dances close to a man he will grunt and hook his buffalo horns at her in an attempt to discourage her overtures—or else, with humorously exaggerated dignity, he will pretend to ignore her completely.

It was Mrs. Tom Many Guns, dressed in a beautiful Indian costume of predominating blue, with blue beadwork on her moccasins and a fine blue blanket over her shoulders, that received the hooves from Joe Horn, the young drummer. (Joe had been replaced at the drum by Fish Wolfrobe, who is blind and so could not see to engage in the Buffalo Dance.)

796 535 522 123 in the Buffalo Dance.) Mrs. Many Guns tossed the hooves to me, and so now it was my turn on the floor. I danced once around, stomping and hooking my horns at the ladies and rattling the hooves at them, and they laughed and pretended to be terrified by the overpowering masculinity of this fierce big bull and with threats and gestures they shooed the bull away. And the second time around, amid shrieks of delighted approval, I suddenly tossed the hooves to Mary Ground, one of the oldest ladies present—whom I had ignored completely the first time around but who had been my intended mate all the time.

796 535 522 The next man to receive the hooves tossed them to Maggie Bear Child, and that Maggie Bear Child—small and round and seventy-eight years old and cute as a button—is a living doll. Maggie directed her attention toward Jimmy, and those two really put on a show. Little Maggie danced as gracefully as a fawn and as coyly as a girl. She was alternately seductive and aggressive, and Jimmy was very fierce and threatening—or petrified with fear—and they both stomped their feet and hooked horns at one another, and finally Maggie backed off and charged Jimmy with little dancing steps and they butted their heads together and Jimmy at last was subdued in horn-locked combat.

Brother Jim danced then, and he is probably the best dancer on the Reservation. As a boy, Jim traveled widely, giving exhibitions of Indian dancing, and I was slightly put out that he had not worn his dancing moccasins but instead had on the same old work shoes in which he had cut wood for the breakfast fire. But if need be, Jim could dance better than the rest of us in hip boots, and he proved it now by prancing and stomping and charging and retreating and shaking his mane and hooking with his horns and spinning in small circles and hopping wounded on one foot—all with magnificent manly grace and with perfect regard for the rhythm of the tireless drums.

[181] Everyone took his turn with the hooves, and I wish that all the world could see the Blackfoot Indians as I saw them during the performance of the Buffalo Dance—graceful and gay and creative and warmly human and thoroughly wonderful. I loved them all—with the possible exception of one Ned Sparks-type Indian who, as he had done at the Pipe Dance, came late and hung around the kitchen until he had been fed and then left. I am sure he is not a full-blood because he has a face like a weak cup of tea—with lemon.

123 796 The Beaver Dance Ceremony was over after all us Blackfoots, one by one, had knelt before the Chief and had our faces painted

302

461 consider it better to be successful at these activities than
554 to be successful in the other more practical and possibly
non-Indian activities.

461 Chicken Dancer.--Office Worker and Chicken Dancer
conclude the list of acceptable activities despite its af-
[554] finities to white-man culture. Easy work was cited in
reference to preferring Calf Roping, and, as will be seen,
matters of personal pride and recognition will relate
Chicken Dancing to Office Worker. With this comment we turn
to Chicken Dancing.

535 It is noticeable that Chicken Dancing, more generally
[541] called "fancy dancing," is an aesthetic endeavor. Through-
out western Canada, Indian Days, rodeos and stampedes feature
[796] this kind of dancing as a part of the entertainment. It
[361] also occurs at the more religious Sun Dance ceremonies on
the Blackfoot Reserve at Gleichen, Alberta and at the Blood
Sun Dance. There it is one of the social events surrounding
[554] the sacred Medicine Lodge ceremony. Chicken Dancing at the
Indian Days and rodeos is often rewarded with prize money in
much the same pattern as the rodeo events, but at the Sun
Dance participation and the admiration of the spectators are
the only rewards.

535 Twenty-two individuals held an opinion on Chicken
461 Dancing, of whom thirteen, or fifty-nine per cent, favored it.

This is thirty-three per cent of the whole sample. Chicken Dancing was also the tenth ranked favorite. It was selected as an acceptable activity on the basis of general valuation (5 statements), previous experience (4 statements), and for the fun and enjoyment one derived from participation (3 statements). The two main reasons for rejecting Chicken Dancing were lack of previous experience (10 statements). and lack of previous knowledge (9 statements). However, most interesting was the injection of concern over one's personal pride into the matter. It occurred three times in two forms; loss of pride occurred three times while, on the other hand, it was the informant's judgment that he did not have sufficient self esteem to appear in costume in public.

Chicken Dancing seems somewhat different from the other popular I.A.'s in that it is decidedly unpractical, and in that it involves enjoyment on the one hand and potential loss of pride or self esteem on the other. From what has transpired in the preceding chapter and in the earlier part of this chapter one would not expect these two attributes to appear in the same I.A. selection. Yet,

> (Ch. D.) I do chicken dance. That's why I like it. I want to keep it up. I started to dance when I was 4-5 years old. I still dance. I get money on that. Go to Indian Days, get a few dollars.

The practicality of cash income is injected into the assess-

535 ment along with personal enjoyment of the activity. Chicken
461 Dancing is seen in other fashions also.

(Ch. D.) Like to dance. (Question--Do you?) I did one time and I like it. To keep the Indian ways.

(Ch. D.) I used to do this kind of dancing. Actually, I had my own outfit when I was a kid. My dad has them now. I don't use them. (Question--Why quit?) Actually, I didn't really quit. When I get a chance to join one of those dances I take my outfit and join.

Thus the "outfit" is an important adjunct to participation.

(Ch. D.) I like to dance, I'm sorry to say I don't know how. I enjoy watching those chicken dancers, but I never tried. None of my relatives I could ask to make me an outfit.

The outfit is analogous to the horse in the Calf Roping evaluation. One must have one.

(Ch. D.) I don't like to be seen like that in a crowd. (Question--Like dancing?) It's good for guys who are used to it.

(Ch. D.) No! (Question--Why?) I don't like people to look at me.

(Ch. D.) I never did like going to those dances. Never did appeal to me. Never did when I was a kid.

(Ch. D.) Before I went to school I used to do a lot of chicken dancing. I lived with my grandmother. I still like to do it now. I went to the Sun Dance. (Question--Why?) It's just like white dances. Dancing, songs, it's better than sitting down watching other people dance.

Chicken Dancing is like rodeo events and athletics in general. It depends upon the opportunities of one's childhood whether or not a person will choose to specialize

535 461 in it. Some people do not because they are easily embarrassed, some feel they are prohibited from doing it because they have no outfit, while others find it an enjoyable and sometimes profitable pastime. The young men see Chicken Dancing as related to their aboriginal heritage and as a form of competition in the modern world. It is probably from this pair of attributes that the influence of shame is derived.

[157] Bashfulness and shame appear to relate to Chicken Dancing and to speechmaking in school (in relation to Politician and to Priest-Clergy). It is thought to be significant that the young Blood perceive appearing in public in these roles as possibly shame provoking. In the present case, Politician and Priest-Clergy will be discussed later in the chapter, such considerations appear to limit participation to ". . . guys who are used to it." This again would indicate the importance of experience as a meaningful variable, cited ten times in the negative about dancing, and how it becomes a compelling concern. Chicken Dancing, it can be seen, evokes bashfulness. Without the experiential ability to compete or perform successfully, one cannot achieve either the intrinsic pleasures or the financial rewards of Chicken Dancing. Thus Chicken Dancing can be seen to relate more closely to the generally valuable and experiential activities such as Bronc Riding, Ranching and the like than it does to

535 461 [554] the learned and practical activities such as Automechanic and Carpenter. It is a medium for demonstrating skill and ability in an Indian frame of reference, and, because of this it is related to social acclaim, personal esteem. This would indicate that general valuation covers both the equestrian and traditional activities. Also, like Calf Roping, as a potentially valuable social achievement, it is among the activities listed as "favorites." Here again is an example of the necessity to succeed in an activity for it to be of value to a specific individual. In Chicken Dancing one competes or participates only when the likelihood of embarrassment is slight.

The Less Frequently Cited Rejects

461 As among the acceptable activities there is a gradual decline in expressed opinion among the rejects. The activities discussed here elicited less opinion and less solid rejection than the ones already discussed: Bartender, Store Keeper, Cook-Baker, Boxer, and Office Worker. Indeed, Office Worker belongs among these I.A.'s, but it was discussed in relation to Haying because of its dual nature.

Barber.--Beginning with Barber we note that, of the twenty-six informants expressing an opinion on it, seventeen reject it. They do so because they see it as boring and confining (13 statements), they feel that they lack the knowledge

remote wilderness by firing several salutes in the court-yard 000
of the fort, for which it is usual to give them something to
drink, or else a present. Our entertainment for the evening 533
was the noise of the drum of the Indian camp, which is em- 534
ployed not only to drive the evil spirit out of the sick, but in 535
their dances and other amusements, and is, therefore, heard
almost every day and every hour. We were likewise much 136
entertained by the antics of three young bears, which ran
about in the court-yard. Another very pretty animal had been
brought up in the fort: this was a young prairie fox, which
Mr. Mitchell made me a present of, and which, by its tame-
ness and vivacity, helped to amuse us during the following
winter. Our new lodging swarmed with mice, which ran over
our feet while we were writing, and kept the traps set for
them continually in motion. We trained my pretty little fox
to this sport, which was new to him, and he soon became a
capital mouser.

Also on this day preparations were made for the solemn 439
reception of the Indians, which always precedes the opening
of the trade, and which is considered by the Indians as a mat- 177
ter of great importance. The flag being hoisted, two small
cannon, placed in the middle of the court-yard, fired signals
for the commencement of the trade. It was full half an hour [533]
before a noise arose in the Indian camp: we heard singing,
firing of guns, and saw the mass of the Indians advancing on
all sides. When Ninoch-Kiaiu (the bear chief) approached
the gate, it was opened, and the two cannon were again
fired. He entered, followed by three or four chiefs, who ap- [576]
proached Mr. Mitchell with their heads inclined; and, after
shaking hands with him, were made to sit down in the Indian
apartment. Soon afterwards another body appeared, and Mr.
Mitchell went out of the gate to meet them. They advanced [431]
in small parties, headed by their chiefs, who always bring a
present consisting either of some beavers' skins or of a horse.
The first horses that we received in this manner were two [231]
greys and a light bay, which were variously painted with red,
chiefly on the forehead, the shoulders, and the haunches, and
marked on the legs with transverse stripes like a zebra.

The chiefs and about thirty of the principal warriors were
admitted, and, after being seated on buffalo hides in the din-
ing apartment, they refreshed themselves by drinking and
smoking. In this manner three or four different bands ad- [533]
vanced with rapid strides, repeatedly discharging their guns,
and singing their rude songs. We observed some remarkable, 302

bacchanals were soon repeated. The Indians came with a 439
small cask and with everything serviceable they owned and 177
gave everything to get their favourite drink. Many came singing
and dancing and offered their wives and daughters in 273
exchange for whiskey. Others brought horses, beavers, and [533]
other skins, and we saw indescribable scenes. The young as [535]
well as the old got something to drink, and even very small
children here and there could neither stand nor walk.

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About noon, the Blackfoot chief Kutonapi arrived in the fort 177
with his band, firing their guns, and was received with the usual discharge of the cannon. The cheerfulness that then prevailed among us was immediately interrupted by discord and mourning. Some Blood Indians had stolen three horses belonging to the fort, and search was made in vain after the thieves, when, in the afternoon, a much more serious event occurred. Mr. Bodmer had just begun to paint the portrait of Hotokaneheh (the head of the buffalo skin), with his large, handsomely ornamented calumet, when we heard a shot in an adjoining room, and immediately saw the people running together. A Blood Indian, who had often been in the fort, and had, till that time, always conducted himself well, had shot, with a pistol, one of our young men named Martin. All the people were assembled round the perpetrator, and nobody knew the cause of this event. The Indian seemed, indeed, to be rather confounded, and affirmed that his pistol had gone off by accident. Many of the young men were for having him shot, because, as they said, he had doubtless committed the murder designedly; but Mr. Mitchell decided with more moderation, considering the occurrence as an unfortunate accident. When the first moments of exasperation were past, he forbade the murderer the fort, but at the same time strictly enjoined the *engagés* to refrain from all acts of violence towards this Indian.

Ninoch-Kiaiu, who was present, did not take the matter so easily. Though he had been offended in the forenoon, because brandy was refused him, he warmly took part with the Whites, and was going to shoot the murderer; but being prevented in this, he beat him with the butt-end of his gun, and drove him, as well as several Gros Ventres des Prairies, who happened to be present, with blows, out of the fort. Kutonapi, who was likewise present, stepped forward, and made a violent speech,